THE PASSING
OF THE
STEWARTS

AGNES MURE MACKENZIE

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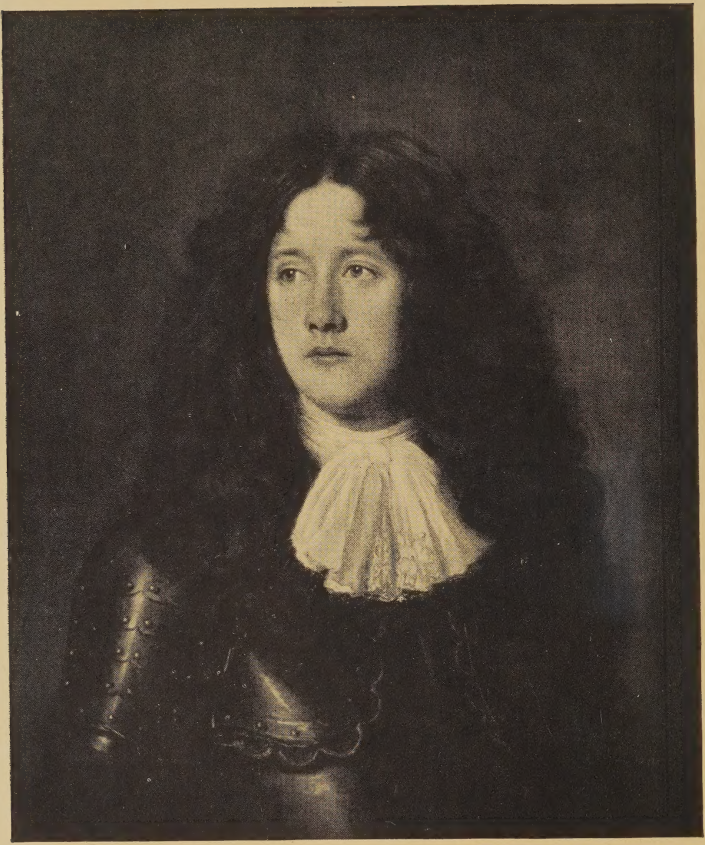

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE
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THE PASSING OF THE STEWARTS

BY

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SCOTIAE RESURGENTI

Ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars : see that ye be not troubled : for these things must needs come to pass ; but the end is not yet.

The Gospel according to Saint Matthew

PREFACE

FOR three centuries from the end of that dynasty that had gathered Pict and Scot, Brython-Celt and Lothian Saxon, the Norsemen of the Isles, the Flemish and Norman settlers, into one nation, the dominant fact of Scottish history is a long war to save Scottish independence. It was a war against very heavy odds, but it was, even triumphantly, successful: and before its second century was over, Scotland not only became a power in Europe, out of proportion to her actual size, but was ripe for the new life of the Renaissance, and had indeed begun to feel it, and richly. Overlapping the last phase of this war, however, and closely connected with it in its beginnings, there comes a new age of war, internal this time, whose opening falls within fifteen years of Flodden, and whose end, as an actual conflict of men in arms, is not till Culloden in 1746, while the struggle underlying the armed conflict continues at least till the end of the century, if indeed it may truly be said to be yet concluded.

This war is between two sides of the national temper; in the cant of our age, between rival ideologies. Now, history is a study of conduct or it is nothing: and such conflicts show a recurrent pattern of conduct, varying continually upon the surface with the changing circumstance of time and place, but alike in essentials and of keen topical interest to us who live in an age of its renewal. From the fifteen-twenties to the seventeen-forties, Scots history shows a very typical sequence of revolution and counter-revolution. The first movements overlap the long English war, when the government of Church and State alike was seized by the partisans of a new religion : thereafter the real contest lies between what our time would call the Right and Left of the new church. The fundamental ideologies were thus theological : but many more values than the theological were involved, and were to play an important part in determining not only political matters (external as well as internal) but cultural. The previous volume has described this age, till the second revolution in 1638 gave the supremacy to the Left Wing party. This volume has to do with the subsequent phases. We see the establishment by the successful Left of a strong 'totalitarian' oligarchy, on lines familiar at the present day : its sequel, a military dictatorship ; and after the Dictator's removal by death, what we should call a White counter-revolution, bloodless in this case and at first very welcome, as the apparent release from tyranny. Partly, however, from vengeance, more from fear, this counter-revolution, as often happens, produces another, if much less general, tyranny, directed against its party's former persecutors : this loses the sympathy of many moderates, and in twenty-eight years there is a fourth revolution ('the Revolution' of our history-books) almost as easy, that restores the Left, but now an altered Left. The less extreme forms of the Left Wing religion were once again restored in 1690, and its politics achieved their final triumph in the Union of Parliaments in 1707. There followed an age of unsuccessful counter-revolutionary activity, whose third and last armed rising was put down in 1746, and whose close is the beginning of a new age.

The crowding material has left me with less space for the summary of parallel foreign affairs that has been an ingredient of the earlier volumes. It so happens, however, that during most of this time those which impinge on our own are events in England : and many admirable histories of the age in that country are accessible. The chronological table at the beginning will enable the serious student to relate affairs in Scotland with affairs abroad. For Scotland also many excellent volumes describe one part or another of this time, in greater detail than my scale can afford. My purpose here is to give the broad general outline that may serve as an introduction to further study, or to co-ordinate the reader's remembrance of works of more detail but shorter range of time. As before, I have tried to give the aims of both parties as much as possible in their own words, and have printed that very important document, the Solemn League and Covenant, *in extenso*.

I am indebted to many previous writers, not least to those devoted editors who in the early part of last century did so much for the Bannatyne, Maitland, and Spalding Clubs ; to Dr. George Menary for permission to reproduce from *The Life and Letters of Duncan Forbes of Culloden* the map which illustrates the Jacobite risings; to Mrs. Melville for permission to reproduce the portrait of Claverhouse; to Mr. Stephen Bone for the design on the cover; and to my publisher, as throughout this series, for friendly criticism and constant help.

ST. JOHN'S WOOD, *July*, 1937.

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GENEALOGY

THE SECOND HOUSE OF STEWART - - *End of book*

CHRONOLOGY

DATES of English events are given in Scottish reckoning, counting 1st January as the beginning of the year. The purpose of this list is not to give a summary of events in Scotland, but to fit these into the framework of contemporary Europe.

1625. Accession of Charles I.

1633. Coronation of Charles I.

1636. *Le Cid.*

1637. Scottish Liturgy. *Descartes' Discours.*

1638. National Covenant. Glasgow Assembly. *Lycidas.*

1639. First Bishops' War. Pacification of Berwick. Presbyterian government of Church.

1640. *Short Parliament.* Leslie invades England. Newburn. Treaty of Ripon. *Long Parliament meets.*

1641. Brotherly Assistance. *Execution of Strafford.* Charles in Scotland. The Incident. *Grand Remonstrance.*

1642. *Charles attempts to arrest the Five Members. Charles declares war on English Parliament. Edgehill. Death of Richelieu.*

1643. *Westminster Assembly. Roundway Down.* Solemn League and Covenant. *Death of Louis XIII. Accession of Louis XIV.*

1644. Leven invades England. *Marston Moor.* Montrose's Year begins.

1645. *New Model Army. Naseby.* Montrose's Year ends. Directory of Public Worship accepted.

1646. Charles surrenders to the Army.

1647. Charles handed over. Westminster Confession accepted. *King prisoner of New Model Army. King escapes.* Engagement.

1648. Larger and Shorter Catechism accepted. Hamilton invades England. Preston. *Pride's Purge. Fronde. Treaty of Westphalia. End of Thirty Years War.*

1649. Act of Classes. Charles's execution. Charles II proclaimed. *English Commonwealth. Drogheda. Le Grand Cyrus.*

1650. Metrical Psalms accepted. Montrose hanged. Charles in Scotland. Cromwell in Scotland. Dunbar. Remonstrance. Resolution.

1651. Coronation of Charles II. Worcester. Cromwellian Union announced. *Leviathan. English Navigation Act.*

1652. *Anglo-Dutch War.*

1653. Union Parliament. Protectorate. General Assembly suppressed.

1654. *Anglo-Dutch Peace.*

1656. *Anglo-Spanish War.*

1657. *Death of Ferdinand III. Accession of Leopold I.*

1658. Cromwell allies with France. Cromwell dies.

1659. *Rump restored.* Union dissolved. *Treaty of the Pyrenees.*

1660. Restoration.

1661. Act Rescissory. Episcopalianism re-established. *Death of Mazarin.*

1662. Act of Indemnity.

1663. Fall of Middleton. Conventicle Act.

1664. *Anglo-Dutch War.*

1665. Plague of London. *Death of Philip IV. Accession of Charles II.*

1666. Pentland Rising. Rullion Green. *Le Misanthrope.*

1667. Act of Indemnity. *Dutch in the Medway. Peace of Breda. Accession of Charles XII. Paradise Lost. Andromaque.*

1668. Attempted murder of Sharpe. *Triple Alliance. Peace of Aix.*

1669. First Indulgence. Proposals for Union. Assertory Act.

1670. Conventicle Act. *Treaty of Dover.*

1672. Second Indulgence. *Anglo-Dutch War. Passage of the Rhine. William of Orange Stadtholder.*

1673. *English Test Act.*

1674. *Anglo-Dutch Peace.*

1675. *Anglo-French Treaty.*

1677. Marriage of Princess Mary to William of Orange.

1678. Highland Host. *Peace of Nimeguen. Titus Oates.*

1679. *English Exclusion Bill.* Murder of Sharpe. Drumclog. Bothwell Brig. Third Indulgence. Fall of Lauderdale.

1680. Sanquhar Declaration. Richard Cameron. Airds Moss. *English Exclusion Bill fails.*

1681. Test Act. *Absalom and Achitophel.*

1682. Rye House Plot. *Accession of Peter the Great.*

1683. Renwick. Rye House Plot.

1684. Renwick's Declaration.

1685. Death of Charles II. Accession of James VII. ‘ Killing Time.’ Landing of Monmouth and Argyle. *Revocation of Edict of Nantes*

1686. James proposes repeal of Penal Laws against Catholics. *League of Augsburg.*

1687. Complete religious freedom announced.

1688. Renwick executed. *Trial of Seven Bishops.* Prince James born. Landing of William of Orange. James in exile. *Birth of Pope.*

1689. William and Mary proclaimed. Claim of Right. Killiecrankie.

1690. Presbyterianism re-established. Cromdale. *The Boyne.*

1691. *Capitulation of Limerick. Athalie.*

1692. Massacre of Glencoe.

1693. Assurance.

1694. Death of Mary II.

1696. Darien Scheme.

1697. *Peace of Ryswick.*

1700. *Death of Dryden.* Birth of James Thomson. *Death of Charles II.*

1701. English Act of Settlement. *Duke of Anjou succeeds to Spain as Philip V. War of Spanish Succession. Grand Alliance.* Death of James VII. *Prussia a kingdom.*

1702. Death of William II. Accession of Anne. Union proposed.

1703. Last Scots Parliament meets. Act of Security. Act anent Peace and War.

1704. Act of Security passed. *Blenheim. Tale of a Tub.*

1705. *English Alien Act.* 'Worcester' affair. Act for Treaty of Union. *Death of Leopold I.*

1706. Commission for Union. *Ramillies.* Watson's Choice Collection.

1707. Union of Parliaments.

1708. Jacobite expedition from Dunkirk. *Oudenarde.*

1709. *Sacheverell.* Trial of Greenshields. *Malplaquet. Tatler. Birth of Johnson.*

1710. *Fall of Godolphin and the Marlboroughs.*

1711. *Essay on Criticism.* Birth of Hume. *Death of Joseph I. Accession of Charles VI.*

1712. Toleration Act.

1713. Malt Tax. *Treaty of Utrecht.*

1714. Death of Electress Sophia. Death of Anne. Proclamation of George I.

1715. *Death of Louis XIV. Accession of Louis XV.* Jacobite rising. Sheriffmuir.

1716. Disarming Act.

1717. Triple Alliance.
1718. Quadruple Alliance. *Death of Charles XII.*
1719. Jacobite landing.
1720. *English South Sea Bubble.*
1721. *Lettres persanes.* Birth of Smollett.
1724. ‘The Evergreen.’
1725. Malt riots. Disarming Act. *Death of Peter the Great.*
1726. Wade’s roads begun. ‘Winter.’
1727. War with Austria and Spain. Death of George I. Proclamation of George II.
1731. Treaty of Vienna.
1734. *Voltaire’s Lettres anglaises.*
1736. Porteous Riot.
1737. Wade’s roads finished.
1739. ‘Treatise on Human Nature.’
1740. *Death of Charles VI.* War of the Austrian Succession. *Pamela.*
1742. *Election of Charles VII.*
1743. Dettingen.
1745. Fontenoy. Charles Edward lands. Prestonpans. *Election of Francis I.*
1746. Falkirk. Culloden. Cumberland in the Highlands. Penal laws.
1748. Penal Laws reinforced. Peace of Aix. ‘Roderick Random.’ ‘Enquiry concerning Human Understanding.’ *L’Esprit des lois.*
1750. *Rousseau’s Discours sur les lettres.*
1759. Burns born.
1766. Death of James VIII.
1771. Birth of Scott.
1788. Death of Charles Edward.
1789. *French Revolution begins.*
1807. Death of Henry Benedict. End of male line of the Stewarts.
1819. Birth of Queen Victoria.

I

1638–58

Not . . . peace, but a sword. . . . To set a man at variance against his father and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law : and a man's foes shall be they of his own household.

The Gospel according to Saint Matthew.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

1638

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.
Virgil, *Georgics*, II.

THE previous volumes of this history deal with epochs which being more or less self-contained, can be studied, if not quite in isolation (for no phase of history can fairly be so studied) as distinct episodes at all events, with each a beginning, a middle, and an end : a few words will set the story in its place. This book, however, considered as a book, must open at a certain disadvantage, for its subject-matter is the latter part of the long sequence of revolutionary movements whose earlier is described in its predecessor. It may be of service therefore to those readers who have not chanced to read the preceding volume, or desire to refresh their memory of its contents, to sum, as briefly as may be, those events which led to the stormy political situation that marks the end of 1638.

There is a familiar picture of the time, which to nearly all readers, as to this book's writer, has been presented from their early childhood. In 1560, by universal consent, Scotland ceased to be Catholic, and under the eminent patriot John Knox, established that natively Scottish institution, a Presbyterian Church.

James VI and his son attempted to force on this the English novelty of an Episcopate : and their subjects, in the spirit of Bannockburn, overthrew Charles, and were persecuted *en masse* by his successors and a small minority of immoral time-servers who for reasons of profit did not object to bishops. As result of this, the Stewarts lost their throne, whereon certain foolish but romantic people attempted for the abstract principle of primogeniture and/or a personal liking for Bonny Prince Charlie, to restore them, and failed. The result was the establishment of a properly national Church, based securely on the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, the Westminster Confession, the Shorter Catechism, the Form of Presbyterial Church Government, and Rous's Metrical version of the Psalms (all essentially Scottish institutions) and accompanied by the Union of Parliaments, although quite unconnected with that event.

I do not think this summary of the time misrepresents the conception that is current : certain friendly critics of the preceding volume (to whose courtesy I pay a most grateful tribute) have shown themselves startled by deviation from it. It does, however, misrepresent the facts, and makes the seventeenth century inexplicable. To understand the situation in 1638, when this story opens, one has considerably to supplement it. We find, by the mid-sixteenth century, a strong movement to abolish the national Church, that previously general to Western Europe, and then in a state of corruption and decay, and replace it by a new and nationally autonomous body, whose supporters held rather various shades of belief, but whose Left Wing were thirled to the theology (though not for a generation yet to the polity) that Calvin had established at Geneva. These Reformers, especially those of the Left Wing, who were strongly antagonistic to the Crown, could count on eager and powerful support from England, and from many nobles, partly from belief, in part from opposition to the Crown and desire for the rich possessions of the old Church. They rose therefore in arms against the Regent Marie, whose death and the absence of the young Queen her daughter gave scope for a successful coup d'état, which, though they still were a minority, established them in control of the Government.[1]

Their common opposition to the old Church had united the revolutionaries: their establishment in power, as commonly happens, was followed by division into parties. These were to become the later Presbyterians and Episcopalians, and divide, in time, into two separate churches, but for seventy-eight years after 1560 they continued within the same Establishment, whose government passed by turns from one to the other, that out of power at any given time being commonly active as an opposition.

The history of these seventy-eight years is largely the history of their interactions. The characteristic forms of government, by which they were later named, took some time to develop. Twelve years after 1560, under the Regent Mar, the Right (with the approval, however, of certain prominent Left men, including Knox) made the first attempt to reform the Reformation, by restoring church government to an episcopate, whose office, however, was purely administrative, not a sacramental order. Mar's death enabled the Regent Morton, one of the ripest scoundrels in a rich age, to pervert this scheme to a means of raising money for himself: and it therefore fell into discredit. Seven years later, in 1579, the Left Wing, now led by Andrew Melville, evolved a positive counter-policy, desiring to replace this diocesan organisation by a form of what we know as a soviet, called the presbytery—a plan established by Calvin in Geneva, and adopted, seven years before Melville's suggestion of it, by the English seceders from their Establishment. In 1581 this system was put in practice in certain Midland districts. Its further growth was associated with the attempt of the party who favoured it to establish, over the head of the boy King, a type of Fascist (though not Nationalist) Totalitarianism, with the civil as well as ecclesiastical power in their hands. With the assistance of certain nobles, who held the young King a virtual prisoner, their party made head, and in 1592, thirty-two years after the Reformation, the Church was once again reorganised, and a Presbyterian government established. Their political conduct, however, caused this party to over-reach itself: after four years it fell, and for forty-two thereafter the governing party in the Church was the Right. These retained the presbyterial organisation, which had much practical value, but working gradually, re-established in conjunction with it an episcopate, titular (that is, merely administrative) at first, but after 1610 a full sacramental episcopate, whose bishops were joined to the Apostolic Succession, the unbroken nexus of episcopal consecration that went back to the Apostolate itself, and which Scotland had lost for exactly fifty years of the eleven hundred since St Ninian.

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[1] Even fourteen years later the new Church could provide ministers for little more than a quarter of the parishes.

The main centre of Left Wing thought was Edinburgh, Fife, and Lothian to begin with, while during the latter part of the period it was strong in the Celtic Lowlands, the South-west. The centre of the Right was Aberdeen, and their influence, as regards the Lowlands, obtained north of Forth. Those Highland districts which accepted the Reformation inclined mainly to the Right, except Argyle, whose earls were always partisans of the Left.

The difference in fundamental philosophy deepened. The Left Wing held an extreme Calvinism, based nominally on the literal acceptance of the Scriptures,[1] actually on Calvin's *Christianae Religionis Institutio*, and holding firmly to an iron distinction between those predestinate to salvation, whatever their actions or experience, and those others no less predestined, for the glory of God and whatever their conduct should be, to eternal and ineluctable fiery torment—a distinction which made for intense class-consciousness and for a self-confidence of the Elect which made them, as in the parallel case of Islam, most formidable as a fighting force. The Right opposed to this what was later labelled Arminianism—at its base in doctrine, though not for a long time much in externals of worship, a drastically reformed Catholicism, purged of post-primitive accretions: they acknowledged Scripture the fundamental guide in matters of faith, but did not allow that the individual was necessarily infallible in its interpretation, and considered that, wherever they were not actually contradicted by Scripture, the traditional doctrines and usages of the Church should be accepted, as the working of the Holy Ghost upon the Body Corporate of believers. They held to the Real Presence in the Sacrament, as Luther did (the Confession of 1560, though rather vague on the point, does not deny it) but denied the Roman teaching of its mode, the theory of Transubstantiation. They considered an episcopal government of the Church the only form which possessed divine sanction, and that they were no bishops who were not linked to the Apostolic Succession. In externals, though many were very notable preachers, they held that preaching (to which Luther had expressly subordinated the sacraments) was only one of several permissible means of conveying truth, and therefore did not repudiate the use of either ceremonial or the visual arts in worship; and desired the restoration of such matters as the observance of the Church's Year and an organised form of common worship that enabled the laity to play a part: the sacerdotalism of Left Wing worship (where the minister did all at his own choice, the people passive, save to sing as he bade them) and the iron rigidity of Left Wing ritual (almost all negative, but extremely detailed) were repugnant to them.

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[1] Nominally, since in spite of its insistence on Scriptural warrant, its attitude was in fact eclectic. In an authoritative and enthusiastic article on Calvin in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, Dr Curtis, Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Aberdeen, remarks (in the same paragraph) that ‘ Calvin had no peer as a student of Holy Writ ’ and that ‘ he left out of his whole doctrinal scheme all mention of the Fatherhood of God ’ : which suggests a certain neglect of the Four Gospels. (In fact, of the 282 proof-texts of the Catechism, only 36 come from a gospel.) In practice, not to take literally and act upon Exodus 22 : 18 or Jeremiah 51 : 20 was considered to be denying the Christian faith : but to take in the same manner, or even as general precedent, Exodus 25-30 (especially 30 : 34) Leviticus 23, Luke 1 : 42, Philippians 2 : 9, Mark 14 : 22, or even Matthew 6 : 9, was also to deny it most blasphemously.

The opposing parties were thus necessarily antagonistic. The Left, however, after 1596, were unable to enforce their beliefs, and the leaders of the Right were content to work by a slow process of education on fundamentals, with external matters left to arise from these: in this their chief leaders were 'the Aberdeen Doctors,' a group of brilliant scholars, whose head was Bishop Patrick Forbes. For more than thirty years after Melville's fall, their party made a peaceful and steady progress. They had, however, one apparent advantage that was to turn out a disastrous disadvantage. King James, and later King Charles, agreed with them, and agreed with the principle (firmly held by the Left) that the civil magistrate had not only a right but a duty to enforce uniformity of religious practice.[1] James was a scholar of really considerable learning and a keen student of theology, whose personal Confession of Faith is a masterly summary of the general Right Wing principles of his own day : his son, though less learned, was also a theologian, and a man deeply and sincerely religious. James, however, after the Union, lost touch with Scotland, while his son had never been in touch with it : and both had the Stewart weakness of being in a hurry. They endeavoured, by means of the royal authority, to accelerate the general Rightward movement, James partly, though only partly, for politic reasons, since he feared a recurrence of Left Wing absolutism, and his son from a sincere religious belief.

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[1] It is stated as early as 1556 in Knox's *Appellation*, and clearly set forth in XXIII, iii of the Westminster Confession, still the standard formulary of the Established Church.

The immediate results of the latter's well-meant attempts are the substance of this book. James's bishops induced him, and timeously, to hold his hand and promise non-interference, but Charles, with the best possible intentions, brought about three generations of civil war and a fourth of the persecution of his own faith. The trouble as it affected the country at large was considerably enhanced by the aftermath of the Three Hundred Years War, for those things which Charles and the Right alike desired were already restored in the Reformed Church of England, or had never been lost there : but while in matters of religion there was close sympathy between the countries (England also had her Left, not only within but already largely separate from the Establishment) the general relations were not good. Scotland had entered the Union in a friendly spirit, which King James had done his best to encourage on both sides, but England resented her defeat in the long war, and refused the closer relation that he wished, so that her intransigent attitude had reawakened the old mistrust in Scotland. Now, although the Right agreed doctrinally with the English Right, they had inherited the nationalism of the pre-Reformation Church, and were suspicious that the King's attempt to enforce, *on his own authority*, reforms that paralleled English institutions might mean a renewal of mediaeval attempts at English domination of the Scots Church. Many men also, who cared little for religious definitions, yet resented the intrusion of the civil power in religion, and were also nervous upon national grounds. And though the Left, as they had already shown, and were to show even more when they came to power, had no objection either to English models or to English intervention in Scots affairs, and had always held that the civil magistrate not only could but should enforce uniformity, the uniformity desired by the King was not that which they wished to have enforced.

None the less, until five years before that date where this book opens—that is to say, until 1633—the controversy continued by tolerably peaceful means, and the gradual movement of the Church was Rightward, though a Left opposition was active in certain presbyteries, especially in Fife and the South-west. Then, however, Charles came north for his coronation. Now the Right had laid but small emphasis on ceremonial, which they considered of the *bene esse* but not of the *esse* of religious practice : the Left, on the contrary, laid an enormous emphasis upon it, chiefly expressed in violent negations, whose essence was that anything that could in any way be connected with the Old Church (even the use of the Lord's Prayer and the reading of the Scriptures in public worship) was blasphemous. They had also inherited that remarkable concentration on the verbal which was characteristic of both Luther and Calvin : it was permitted, as cardinal and important instances, to present Our Lord's Passion to the ear, but blasphemous to do so to the eye, while the Sacrament was to be honoured in words, but not by the action of kneeling. Now Charles agreed with this emphasis on externals : but he laid it upon a different set of externals, and he had an amateur's enthusiasm, and was backed by his friend and counsellor, William Laud, who was as intransigent as Andrew Melville, intensely English, and a strong Arminian. He tried to force the Scots Church, at a stroke, to adopt the external practices of the English, and this by means of his own authority, over-riding the constitution of itself. This offended the nationalism of the party which approved of the changes *per se*, infuriated that which though anything but nationalist disliked them *per se*, and antagonised the great body of moderate men, who themselves holding various shades of belief, or none, disliked an attempt to force their consciences.

For a time, the Bishops succeeded in checking the King, and there was no more than a general unease. In 1637 the storm burst. Charles laid special emphasis upon one point, the institution of a revised Liturgy, to replace that of the English Congregation at Geneva, adopted by the Scots Church in 1560, and by now disliked on both sides. Several attempts at revision had been made, and there was a general agreement that it was needed. Unluckily, under the influence of Laud, Charles desired the direct adoption of the English Liturgy. The Right agreed with its underlying doctrines and admired its superb translations of immemorial prayers, but objected on nationalist grounds, and insisted on the production of a Scottish one, the work of a Committee of Scottish divines, which though making free use of the noble English translations, had various important differences. Its introduction in 1637, however, was grossly mishandled, for Charles, adopting the principle of *cuius regio eius religio* (whose defence first gave rise to the name of Protestant) enacted the new use on his own authority, completely disregarding that of the Church.

Other factors complicated the situation. Charles, at the very beginning of his reign, had already incurred the enmity of the nobles, who dreaded that he might restore to the new Church those lands of the old that had been the reward of their zeal, and resented Archbishop Spottiswoode's attempt to put in practice, at the expense of the heritors, Knox's admirable scheme for parish schools, which till 1616 had remained on paper. These now backed the general outcry against the King, their leaders at first being Lord Loudoun (a Campbell) and Lord Balmerino, and two very dissimilar ministers of the Left, Alexander Henderson, a man of high character, sincere belief, and political skill amounting to genius, and David Dickson, a fanatical extremist who had roused a wave of orgiastic ‘ revivalism ’ in the inflammable South-west. ‘ The pulpits,’ says Burnet, ‘ did ring with the ruin of religion and liberties, and that all might look for popery and bondage,’ for since Roman observance was of course unfamiliar, anything strange might be damned as pertaining to it; while the people were told that ‘ the design was to reduce Scotland under the power of the English, whose oppression they must resolve to bear if they stood not now to their defence.’

Baillie, a moderate Left man, sums the situation :

> The one side puts poperie, idolatrie, superstition, in sundrie things which are innocent of these faults ; they speak of the persones and actiones of men otherways than it becomes ; . . . the other seemes wilfullie to add fewell to their flame, to command upon sole authoritie without ever craving the advyce of any (so farr as we can hear) if such things be expedient, yea if they be lawfull.

Popular feeling was roused to a high pitch, and Charles, with an almost incredible lack of tact, did everything possible to exasperate it, while the Liturgy, now made the centre of the storm, was delayed and delayed, allowing time for the charges against it to grip the popular imagination. Its actual introduction, in June of 1637, began in Edinburgh, the headquarters of the Left, and there was a riot. Henderson, Dickson, Loudoun, and Balmerino, with their supporters, made the most of it, and at the beginning of 1638 revived an anti-

Catholic band of fifty-seven years previously—doubtfully relevant but inflammatory, as it suggested renewal of earlier dangers—and added to it a good deal of new material, including a carefully edited catalogue of post-Reformation acts of Parliament, to form a new band, the famous National Covenant.[1]

This found many signatures, of those theologically in sympathy with the Left, those excited by the anti-papist scare, including many children, and—an important element in affairs—a number of thoughtful men of moderate views (including for instance so fine a character as the young Earl of Montrose, one of the noblest figures of his day) who passed the terms of the declaration itself, and saw in it less a statement of Left Wing thought than a necessary withstanding of tyranny. Others also, more concerned with its actual terms, were forced by vigorous though as yet unofficial pressure to sign also : and the greater part of the Lowlands were united into what seemed to many a fresh phase of the immemorial struggle with English aggression, while Charles, though he made many and humiliating surrenders, invariably made them just too late.

Matters then proceeded on familiar revolutionary lines. The General Assembly of the end of 1638 was charged to deal with the situation : the Left Wing, being backed by a majority of the nobles, controlled the election on a plan, if frankly illegal, well thought out, and succeeded in obtaining a majority of their party, which in less than six months after the Prayer-book riot had already formed an anti-government, the famous committee known by the name of the Tables. The Bishops were tried *in absentia*, on a long list of charges already proclaimed as proven from Left pulpits: many of these were absurd and most unfounded, but the gravamen of the whole case against them was what we should call 'counter-revolutionary activity.' (A critic of the previous volume, in fact, has drawn an interesting parallel between the trial of the Bishops and several famous Continental trials of our own time.) They were deposed, with all the more prominent Right Wing clergy, and many were also excommunicated, while the Assembly, having been further purged since it had met, pronounced Episcopacy to be abolished, and the Church restored to the purely presbyterial government that had briefly obtained after 1592; while they also, though less officially, demanded that control of the civil power held by their party between 1592 and 1596.

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[1] For its full text, see *The Scotland of Queen Mary and the Religious Wars*, Appendices II and III.

Thus stood the position in the last weeks of 1638. The previous volume has dealt with these matters in detail, laying special stress on the actual statements of the opposing parties, which have more weight as expression of their opinions than the party tradition of some three hundred years later. Our business now is to consider what followed, the long sequence of revolution, dictatorship, and counter-revolution, that ended in the establishment alike of Whig religion and Whig polity.

CHAPTER II

APPEAL TO ARMS

SIX MONTHS : JANUARY–JUNE 1639

> Autrefois on laissait à Dieu le soin de distinguer les siens : aujourd'hui nous sommes plus civilisés, et nous Lui épargnons cette besogne.
>
> A. Dumas, *La Reine Margot.*

THE next twenty years show the progress of this revolution—thirteen to the establishment of a military dictatorship, and seven thereafter to the Dictator's death, which opened the way for a counter-revolution eighteen months later. The first six months are filled with what is called the First Bishops' War, a struggle rather political than military, which gained the Left all that they had overtly claimed, and consolidated their party's hold on power.

At the beginning of 1639, most of the Lowlands south of Forth, and Fife, were against the Crown. Their union, as has been suggested already, was even then more apparent, perhaps, than real, for different men fought different enemies. Those definitely against Arminianism and the Bishops were the standard-bearers, but a minority. Their strongest supporters, the nobles and the lairds, included the majority of their class : most of them feared the King's reclamation of the old Church lands, and the greater men, as always, a strong Crown power. The moderates, the majority that made the movement formidable, were less against the power of the Crown as such, whose past service to Scotland had been inestimable, than against its abuse by a King who though he had been born a Scottish prince, was by education and by residence a foreigner.

Their opponents were in a very awkward position. To support the Bishops and their associated doctrine meant to support also a threatened Crown tyranny, and also to take what seemed at the moment an anti-national attitude, while among the less educated men the skilful handling of Henderson, Dickson, and Johnstone of Warriston had raised a popular scare of Popery, logically irrelevant and ethically dubious, but in practical politics of great importance, and strengthened by the fact that the Scots Romanists, still numerous in spite of sixty-eight years of persecution, saw in the Crown their only defence against men who were (quite literally) screaming for their blood, and naturally sided with the King. Also, the natural leaders of the Right were the Bishops, and though most of them were scholars and some were saints, none was either a politician or a soldier, a number of the best died almost at once, and their party was anxious to avoid alike civil war and a definite schism in the Church ; and therefore, since the change had the formal sanction of Church government, however dubiously appointed, accepted for the time the *status quo*, complying, if reluctantly, with the enactments of the Assembly, so long as these were confined only to prohibition of externals, and seeking for reinstatement by peaceful means.

War, however, was inevitable. The conflict could not be confined to political and missionary action. For practical purposes the core of the situation was that—with whatever moral justice—the central governmental authority had been defied and deforced. No country more needed that authority: yet the Crown was in no case to assert itself. At the same time it had to assert itself, and Charles consummated his course of blunders by attempting to do this by English arms. Even if he had been sure of that support, the expedient would have been completely fatal: but while the Scots saw Charles as an English king attempting to force them into the grip of England, to the English he came of a foreign dynasty, and was trying to drag England into a foreign quarrel, in a cause with which many of his English subjects—including those with the chief control of finance—were out of sympathy.

Had he been able to wait for a little longer, the revolutionary party might have split, as they soon were to do. He attacked them, however, while they were still more conscious of a common antagonism than of any more positive feeling, and so were united: and while thus too soon, he also attacked too late, for they had had time to organise, with effect. They prepared now for war, in a very business-like fashion. Arms for 30,000 men were imported from France, Germany, Holland, and Denmark, and an embargo placed on their sale to non-Covenanters.[1] Eight collectors were appointed to every shire to raise a ‘ voluntary ’ levy : and as Baillie puts it, ‘ the houses of our unfriends were disfurnished of arms and victual by some of our captains,’ while proposals were made, though not as yet carried out, to confiscate the goods of those who refused to sign the Covenant. The Lowlands for a generation had lacked direct experience of war, save in local feuds, and these, by now, were not common : but the Thirty Years War had given training to very many Scots in the service of all the governments concerned, especially the Swedish, where Gustavus is said to have employed 10,000. Indeed, at his death, it was

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[1] They expected foreign help, but did not at first ask for it, Lutheran assistance, indeed, being described as 'a leaning on the

> ane gentlemen of bass birth borne in Balveny, who had servit long and fortunatly in the German wars, and callit to his name Felt Marshall Leslie his Excellence

who succeeded him in command of the victorious Swedish army. Now Leslie came home, and other veterans with him ‘ cam in gryte numberis vpone hope of bloodie war ’—though it may be remarked that their notion of that same war was a good deal less *bloodie* and more chivalrous than that of the Left Wing clergy who were their masters. Leslie was a great asset. ‘ The little old crooked soldier ’ was not a genius, but he had been trained by one, and he was an able and experienced professional, with a prestige that gave him unquestioned status, while the fact that he was an incomer, with status only on the one relevant point, precluded

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rotten reed of Egypt.’ By the summer, however, they were applying to France, where Cardinal Richelieu was friendly to them : they later on denied that they had done so, but the letter is extant in the French Archives.

the jealousies that have so often wrecked unity of command.

Leslie's choice of a side, and the fact that the theological issues had been given the semblance of a national quarrel, determined his old comrades to his party, at least for the time. Charles could raise nothing equivalent: and the Covenant Intelligence were assisted by sympathising Grooms of the Bedchamber, who picked his pockets at night and sent copies of his letters to their employers. He did what he could. In January 1639 he sent Astley, one of his few professional soldiers, to raise the Trained Bands ('Territorials') of the North of England, and called the English nobles to do a feudal service that was virtually obsolete. On paper his force came to about 21,000, 2,000 being cavalry: but much of it existed only on paper, and more were untrained conscripts, with a very muddled idea what they were fighting for, while as Burnet says, 'less heartiness could be expected from his majesty's hired soldiers than from such as had no help but in their hands and actions.' Moreover, Charles chose his commanders ill. The main force was given to Arundel, of small experience and a Catholic, the cavalry to Holland, a friend of the Catholic and suspected Queen, and a detached force to the feeble Hamilton, who was a curse to his side all through these wars.

The King's plan of campaign was, surprisingly, quite sound. The main body was to advance to the Border, while 5,000 men (of whom, however, 'not 200 could fire a musket') were sent by sea to join Huntly in Aberdeen, the stronghold of the Right, and threaten the insurgents' rear; and as a western diversion the Earl of Antrim (a MacDonnell) with an 'Irish' force, mostly of Clan Donald emigrants, was to land in Kintyre, then Campbell but till lately MacDonald country, and hold the Earl of Argyle, Loudoun's chief and backer, while Strafford, with another Irish force, seized Dumbarton, the key-position of the West. Ruthven should hold Edinburgh, and Traquair, Roxburgh, and Douglas Tweed-dale, Teviotdale, and Clydesdale respectively. All which was very well, and had it come off would have neatly encircled the revolutionaries. But none of it did come off. Douglas, Traquair, and Ruthven all gave in, Edinburgh Castle falling to a half-hour's siege, when the gates were blown up. Roxburgh's son took the Covenant, and the Kers, in no mind to join with English troops, went with him. Tantallon and Dalkeith were seized, the Honours of Scotland being taken at the latter. Dumbarton fell to a neat stratagem: the Governor went to church, was captured and stripped, and at dusk a man in his clothes went up to the gate and bade the garrison open, which they did. Argyle seized Brodick in Arran, commanding the Clyde, and garrisoned Kintyre before Antrim could land, while, joined, surprisingly, by the Camerons, he raided Huntly's lands in Badenoch.

Before the real campaigning season could open, any attack from south or west had been parried. The serious danger to the revolution lay northward. Huntly, the most powerful man of the North-east, refused the

Covenant, in spite of threats and an offer to pay his debts. In February the young Earl of Montrose, who though not in sympathy with the extreme Left, had strongly resented Charles's high-handed methods, was sent to raise a force in the Braes of Angus. He appointed a rendezvous with the Keiths and Crichtons at Turriff, in Huntly's rear. Huntly marched on the village with 2,000 men, but Montrose, with the speed that was a major part of his brilliant natural genius as a soldier, got there before him: he had half Huntly's men, but Huntly had Hamilton's orders not to fight. There was no action: the two forces 'glared at each other,' and withdrew. Huntly then turned to fortify Aberdeen, where the women worked with their men at the dykes and ditches, and in March Leslie, with Montrose under him, moved against it.[1] Huntly, for reasons never yet made clear, disbanded. The Aberdeen Doctors, whose lives had been loudly threatened for the past year, fled by sea. Without Huntly, there could be no effectual resistance: Leslie entered the town on the 30th March, and forced the citizens to raze their fortifications, pay a heavy fine, and sign the Covenant. There was no sermon upon Good Friday 'as wes vsit befoir' and no Communion upon Easter Day, 'suche wes the change of tyme,' says Spalding sadly, and some of the remaining professors were deposed.[2]

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[1] It was at this time, and by Montrose's suggestion, that the Covenanters adopted their badge of the blue ribbon.

[2] The Left Wing had an admirable grasp of the strategic points of propaganda. The Assembly of Nov.-Dec. 1638 had already established a strict press censorship, sent commissions to drive their

There followed a curious incident, which had important later consequences, and which has been used to discredit the Earl of Montrose, though in fact the blame can hardly have been his. In April, Huntly came to Inverurie, and signed a modified Covenant, pledging himself to maintain the King's authority along with the liberties of Church and State, Religion, and Laws—which, as Lord Tweedsmuir remarks, was much what Montrose then believed himself to be doing. The Catholic clans were also promised protection, so long as they would concur in maintaining laws and liberties. Huntly warned Montrose that the Gordons would rise if he were made prisoner, and Montrose declared he would stand by him, but warned him that ' Business here is all transacted by vote and a committee, nor can I get anything done of myself.'

The Covenanting leaders assembled at Aberdeen. There they summoned Huntly, under a signed safe-conduct. He came, and was bidden subscribe to the Covenant funds, bring in certain prisoners, and be reconciled with Crichton of Frendraught, in whose house his kinsmen had mysteriously been burnt. He refused, and in spite of the safe-conduct, was sent prisoner to Edinburgh. Spalding, a Royalist, blames Montrose, who had certainly been one of the signatories. Mon-

opponents from the Universities, and by a series of depositions were acquiring a general control of the pulpits, which the absence of newspapers and their own general practice of ' preaching to the times ' (i.e., on current politics) made equivalent to a modern revolution's control of broadcasting. In addition, the Kirk Sessions, now in their hands, controlled the national primary education. This state of affairs was to last for twenty years.

teith says he protested: and Gordon of Rothiemay, whose father was with Huntly at the time, blames Leslie, who was senior to Montrose. One might have expected the latter to resign his commission, but to do so would have ended his opportunity of service, and his disillusionment with the Covenant party was only beginning. (To his dying breath he held to the purposes they had first proclaimed.) It is not impossible that Huntly himself desired to be out of the conflict: he said finely, when he got to Edinburgh, 'You may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my sovereign:' but Charles had later plenty of justification for calling him, as he did then, false and feeble: and Lord Gordon, his heir, the Marcellus of the party, a young man of high spirit and fine nature, soon after became and remained Montrose's close friend. It is highly probable, in fact, when one knows the men, that Huntly's subsequent hatred of Montrose, that was to be the ruin of the King's cause, may have been less because Montrose behaved badly than because he had seen Huntly behaving badly. It is a much stronger motive for resentment.

While these affairs were in progress in the North-east, Charles was, tardily, marching. He reached York on the day Leslie entered Aberdeen, and invited his subjects, with his wonted tact, to come in and be punished. Hamilton sailed north, too late to help Huntly, whose collapse diverted him to the Forth. There he found Edinburgh and Leith garrisoned against him, and his formidable mother riding about with pistols at her saddle, threatening to shoot him down if he should land; and at this point smallpox broke out among his men. He was no man to cope with the situation, or with any that required a more complex courage than a straightforward charge of horse: he advised Charles to come to terms, though Huntly's younger sons, Lord Aboyne and Lord Lewis Gordon, lads in their teens, had raised their clan and invited him to join them. He refused: but on the 14th May the two boys fought the first real action of the war, the Trot of Turriff, and drove the Covenanters from the village.

Charles, who had meanwhile got to Newcastle, issued another, more conciliatory, proclamation, offering to deal peaceably with a peaceable Parliament, and declaring that though he would not permit Scots troops to enter England, he would not order an invasion of Scotland if he received obedience in temporal matters.

The war, however, continued. The young Gordons attempted to follow up their successes, and begged Hamilton for men. He gave them instead a few fieldpieces and a Colonel Gunn, a veteran soldier but a doubtful asset. Montrose and the Marischal easily retook Aberdeen, and fined it 10,000 merks. Then they fell back on Stonehaven, and the city was re-occupied by Aboyne, who tried to hold its main access from the South, Bishop Dunbar's long bridge across the Dee. The ensuing action is the only considerable one of that war, and Montrose's first battle. He marched to reoccupy the town. The Dee was in high spate: the townsfolk, under the Provost's gallant son, held the

Brig stoutly all through a day of fighting: then Montrose got his guns up, and feinted towards a higher, impossible, ford. Colonel Gunn, a stranger, fell into the trap and drew off the Gordons, and the Brig was carried. The Covenanters wanted, says Baillie, 'to have sacked the town orderlie' which would have been a remarkable feat of war: but news came at once from the South that made this the last fighting of the campaign.

Charles had advanced from Newcastle to Berwick, where Hamilton returned to him 3,000 men. Henderson, at Dunbar, preached fierily against Amalek: Leslie was at Duns, and did not much like his position. The insurgents were short of artillery, and their commanders found discipline compromised by that familiar feature of revolutionary wars, civilian orators who attempted to guide troops over the heads of their officers. They are said to have lacked food, but Baillie, who was there as a chaplain, declares that the ranks were enjoying wheaten bread, and that 'a grote would have gotten them a lamb legge, which was a daintie world to the most of them.'[1] Lord Tweedsmuir quotes him as saying that the spirit of the troops was ‘ sweet, meek, and humble, yet strong and vehement : ’ in fact, good Baillie applies these words to *himself*, and candidly admits that though the troops were ‘ galliard,’ alongside psalms and prayers there was also ‘ swearing, curseing, and brawling ’ enough to shock him.

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[1] 'I (quoth the wren) was there among the rest . . . I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows musquets and picks [pikes] and to my boy a broadsword. I carried myself, as the fashion was, a sword and a couple of Dutch pistols.' Baillie, a fine scholar and a most likeable person, was the perfect type of the well-meaning 'pink' revolutionary—an earnest, kindly soul, moved (rather by his heart than by his head) to receptiveness to strongly presented ideas, very fierce in words but distressed by fierceness in action when he must *see* it. At this time he was enjoying himself immensely, with all the order and circumstance of war—tents, banners, and what not—and no messy fighting. His impressionability and his lively style make his journal-letters to his cousin in Holland invaluable as reflections of the time, the more as one was posted before the next was written.

The troops and their amateur officers, however, were happier than their Staff. Besides Leslie’s military difficulties, there was the political one. Charles might be in very poor case to attack Leslie : but Leslie was handicapped by his amateur underlings and his clerical masters. If he were defeated, the revolution was smashed. If he defeated Charles he would probably have England against him, and—as in fact events were to prove—restore the popular sympathy to the King. Negotiations were therefore indicated, and with Montrose in control of the centre of Royalist and Right Wing feeling, and Charles unwilling for a civil war, the insurgents had useful assets in striking a bargain.

A conference was accordingly arranged, and Charles appeared there, with surprising effect. Many of the men opposed to him were irreconcilable fanatics, to whom the mere fact that he knelt to his communion would alone make him Ahab, Agag, and Jeroboam : but many others—those that gave strength and weight to the fanatics—were moderates he had driven to revolt by his bungling blend of oppression and concession, and were sincerely and really opposing the Crown in the interests of law and justice, and with a good case. Now, meeting him face to face, they saw his other side, his charm and dignity, his real earnestness and goodness of intention. The warm-hearted, impressionable Baillie thought him ‘ one of the most just, reasonable, sweet persons they had ever seen.’ It is odd praise: reasonable Charles never was, though he was, unluckily, all too logical; just he was by intention, but often the reverse of it in practice; but the sweetness was there, the fine and sensitive courtesy, and it scored a personal triumph that made him ‘ ever the longer the better loved of all ’ (or many at all events) ‘ that heard him.’

There were some days of debate. The Covenanters proposed that the King should ratify all the acts of the late Assembly in a Parliament to meet the next month, July—including, of course, the deposition and excommunication of the Bishops, on whom he had brought the storm; should permit all matters ecclesiastical to be settled by the Assembly and civil by a Parliament—the limits of ecclesiastical control, a main issue of the conflict, not being defined, and the elections being rather flagrantly ‘ controlled ’ by the revolutionaries; and should compensate loss to trade, hand over the excommunicated (i.e., all the leaders of his own party and many of their followers) for punishment, and withdraw all his manifestos. If England refused compensation for damage done (which was likely, as she was in no way to blame for it) they would be satisfied with the estates of Catholic ‘ incendiaries ’ (=Royalists) and of the Bishops, which were to be sequestrated for purposes of the new Church government and of that education that had already been seized as a major instrument of propaganda.

It was clear that Charles had either to force a civil war, and perhaps an international one as well, or accept the *status quo*, which meant most of the terms. There was a good deal of wrangling over the question of excommunication, which in fact involved the principle that was the core of the whole struggle between the Crown and the party of the Left, and had been ever since the reign of Mary. Warriston advanced the old claim that civil penalties behoved to be involved by ecclesiastical. Added thereto was another point. An Assembly could call itself, or the King could call one : but he could neither veto nor dissolve one. This in itself was fair : but the two conjoined meant in practice, and were intended to mean, that the government of Scotland, both civil and religious, would pass to the hands of a party organisation, and exert that government of a class in its own interest which every Stewart sovereign had fought already.

Charles replied that as the Glasgow Assembly was an illegal body, he could not ratify its acts. He would, however, withdraw all proposed innovations, allow a future Assembly to deal with the Bishops, and yield matters ecclesiastical and civil to annual Parliaments and Assemblies, on condition that the insurgent army disbanded, the insurgent central organisation, the Tables, dissolved, and the royal fortresses were returned. Given these, he would further withdraw his own army, and give reparations.

There was still some argument. The extremists refused to be content unless the King would expressly ‘ quit bishops,’ although it was clearly against both his personal conscience and his responsibilities as King of England also and lay head of her Church. The wiser men saw that he could not do this, and on the 18th June, terms were agreed. Charles still would not recognise the Glasgow Assembly, but bound himself to convene a new one in August, also the Estates, which in practice meant the same thing at the moment, as the Bishops were threatened with death if they should appear (he expressly forbade them to do so or make any protest) while the nobles, in the main from interest, and the burgesses, in the main from conviction, supported the Left. He accepted the principle that civil and ecclesiastical legislation should be left to Estates and Assembly respectively, and he would disband. In return, the now useless Tables should be dissolved, the castles restored, and the insurgents disbanded.

In other words, the situation, at this end of the six months war, was much where it had been at the beginning, save in the unlucky city of Aberdeen, the harried households of Badenoch, and men’s minds. For the central power, the copestone of legislation, had been visibly and successfully deforced.

CHAPTER III

PACIFICATION

A YEAR AND A HALF: JUNE 1639–JANUARY 1641

> The late Commotions and Troubles . . . are turned into a quiet, calm and comfortable Peace.
>
> *Act of the English Parliament, in August* 1641.

MANY Covenanters considered the struggle at an end, and even thought to send Leslie with a Scots army to the help of the Elector Palatine. Wiser men knew that the brief, slight, and easy war was but the beginning of an age of conflict, though few, perhaps, guessed it would last for a century yet, and establish a German king on the British throne. Among those who took a sober point of view was the Earl of Montrose, who immediately on the arrangement of the Treaty had disbanded and ridden south to the camp at Duns. He was twenty-seven now, had seen war, won his first battle, witnessed his party's rapid victory: his fervour for the ideals for which he fought was undimmed, and would remain so until he died, but he had come to know his associates better, and already to realise that though they fought for the same words as himself, the words to some had in practice another meaning.

From this time, through the eleven years of life that were left him, he is a cardinal figure. A greater soldier, by instinct, than any Scot since the death of Thomas Randolph, he had also a fundamental *gravitas*, a deep natural wisdom in principles of conduct: as a statesman it is he more than any king of the Lennox Stewarts who succeeds to the policy of the older house, and stands, as no King after James VI was to do, for the idea of something approaching Plato's conception of the Just State—of a free, *organically* united Scotland, whose King held all classes in an even balance. The early Stewarts had forged that vision from the ruined Scotland of David II's weakness: and it was he who heired it, and tried in vain to teach it to their successor. But partly by temperament, partly because he was still inexperienced in the practice of ruling and lacked the enforced precocity of the kings, he was, though a statesman, never a politician. Had he had Henderson's political skill, or even Argyle's, he might have saved Scotland, even perhaps, saved England. Had he broken now with his party and gone to Charles, it is even possible that he still might have done it: when he did go, at a time when his enemies had more ammunition, that quality in the man that was grave and swift at once, like a good sword, forced the King to heed him. But he did not go until it was too late: for four years yet he tried to work out his own faith on the side of the party to which he at first was thirled, and attempt to reconcile their aims with his own that, fundamentally, remained unchanged until the day when in the flower of his age he swung from the gallows they had built for him.

He was soon to have further teaching as to their views. A few weeks after the Pacification of Berwick, on the 12th August, the Assembly met, with the feeble Traquair as the King's Commissioner. The Moderator was not now Henderson, but Dickson, the other 'Archbishop,' who may be called Cassius to Henderson's Brutus: the resemblance is more than in mutual relation, for Henderson, with his dignity, charm, and devoted highmindedness, his belief that the end justified the means, and unconscious desire for recognition as leader, that made him malleable by coarser men, runs very true to that recurrent type, and as it always does, he plays his part at the beginning of the storm, and drops out, unhappy, once it has fairly broken.

At first the atmosphere of hollow peace was continued. Dickson spoke of the King as 'very loveworthie . . . the most gentle-natured prince . . . the least suspitious, most forgiving and reasonable:' but it immediately was made very clear that any reconciliation with the King included no man who agreed with the King. His followers were 'those that walked in a state way,' and showed 'the erring judgement of the misinformed' and 'Poperie hiding under the Prelat's mantle:' while Henderson doubted, very politely, whether the Bishops were likely to die as Christians, although he charitably hoped they might. His summary of post-1560 history is interesting, for it was, and remained, his party's official version: it is probable, however, that he sincerely believed what he was saying.

The Assembly, of course, repeated the work of its predecessor, cancelling the Prayer-book, the Canons, the Courts of High Commission, the Articles of Perth, and the civil place and power of ecclesiastics.[1] The Acts of all Assemblies from 1606 to 1618—i.e., of those which had moved definitely Rightward—were rescinded. They also demanded the calling in of the Royalist manifesto known as *The Large Declaration*, and the hanging of the Scots Dean of Durham, Dr Balcanquhal, who had drawn it up. (The Sheriff of Teviotdale volunteered for the job, as 'it is more propper to me, and I am better acquainted with hanging' than a minister.) The work in the Universities was to be followed by the appointment of 'well-affected schoolmasters,' and the purging of the Church itself continued, with a long string of depositions, mainly for doctrinal reasons or the use of the Prayer-book. Peterkin, who edited the Assembly Records in the stormy year of 1843, observes

> others were left for the administration of what was called 'mercy' on condition of renouncing all their previous convictions and professions and their sense of allegiance to the monarch and statute law of the land. That some were unworthy may be admitted; but trial in their absence, upon nice points of metaphysical theology and by means of evidence of very questionable credibility, is . . . a characteristic of the Assembly of 1639.

In order to ensure among the general public a majority or rather uniformity for their party, they also demanded, and received, from the Lords of the Council a decreit making it compulsory for all, of whatever rank and class, to subscribe the party creed as expressed in the

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[1] This last may seem surprising: but they desired not that the leaders of the Church should have a *defined* place in national governmental organisation, but that they should form a separate one, with unlimited control of the civil machinery.

Covenant. It is only fair to add that not all their spiritual descendants were to homologate these proceedings: it is the Presbyterian historian, Dr Cook, who sums them by saying that they

> required by authority from all ranks of men . . . subscription to a number of propositions of which multitudes must have been totally ignorant, and to maxims respecting ecclesiastical polity which it is impossible to suppose were not condemned by numbers who having for many years lived in communion with an Episcopal Church could not be persuaded that such a church was unlawful . . . [It occasioned] to the conscientious part of the community much wretchedness and [was] calculated to diffuse that relaxation of principle which is the bitter fruit of every deviation from the tolerant spirit of pure religion.

One is not surprised that the contemporary geographer-cleric, Gordon of Rothiemay, should make dry comment:

> It is very remarkable that thes ministers who in the tyme of the bishoppes pleaded tolerance for ther non-conformity and argwed from the tenderness of ther consciences, howsoone they gott the power in ther hands, they spared not other men's consciences, but pressed them to obedience with thretnings of civill and ecclesiasticke punishments.

Traquair, as the King's Commissioner, assented to the whole of these proceedings, only protesting that he concurred in the repudiation of episcopacy for the sake of the kingdom's peace, and did not censure its practice outside their own borders. The Assembly allowed his protest to be entered, but would not accept it as qualifying their own proceedings. Finally, they took order for St Andrews, which being 'very corrupt, the body of the townspeople addicted to prelacie and the ceremonies ' (i.e., the Prayer-book) required the same purgation as Aberdeen, and dispersed with much gratitude for the Divine favour.

On the 31st of the same month the Estates met also, for the first time in the new Parliament House which their successors were to put out of use. Traquair was still the King's Commissioner, and the Spiritual Estate were completely absent. There was some initial trouble over the appointment of the Lords of the Articles. It had been customary for the nobles to elect the representatives of the prelates, the prelates those of the nobles, while both combined then chose those of the Third Estate. Now there were no prelates: Charles offered to appoint fourteen ministers to fill their place, but was refused, the nobles being chosen, as a temporary arrangement, by Traquair. They then appointed the Third Estate, and this Committee secured the ratification of all the Acts of the recent Assembly, the transfer to the Estates of the Mint and of the appointment of the Crown Officers, and, by one vote, the passing of a motion by Argyle that each Estate should in future elect its own representatives on the Committee of the Articles. This sounds more democratic than it was, for the common people were, and were long to be, unrepresented, save by the Crown itself, which had in fact been a careful and honest custodian of their rights. The new arrangement, as it was meant to do, weakened Crown influence, put the Articles into the hands of vested interests: Montrose, and others with him, saw in it no approach to popular sovereignty, but a devolution of the power of the Crown to the more expert parliamentarians, and specifically to its proposer Argyle.

The Parliament forced an exposure of the hollowness of the Pacification of Berwick. Charles refused to accept its decisions. It was impossible for the lay head of the English Establishment to assent, and that against his personal conscience, to an act describing Episcopacy as unlawful *per se*. Nor would he formally rescind the acts which had established it. He was willing to grant the right of the Church to abolish it, but he could not consent to a general or retrospective denial of the lawfulness of its past establishment. He had a good case : and as usual, made the worst of it. In November, with the general situation much aggravated, the Estates were prorogued until June.

Long before that, a worse war was clearly seen to be inevitable. The coming of 1640 in fact marks a definite stage in the struggle, preluded, in the last months of 1639, by a number of deaths among the clerical leaders of the Episcopalian side, including those of Barron, one of the best, of Wedderburn, who had shared in the compilation of the Prayer-book, and of Archbishop Spottiswoode, the ablest of them on the political side.[1] Both sides attempted to prepare for the struggle. All through the opening months of the year, levies were being raised and drilled in the Lowlands, and on the 17th April Leslie was formally commissioned as Commander-in-Chief, his commission defending an appeal to arms on the grounds of Charles's 'full determinatioun of the subdewing, killing, and destroying of this land and natioun without showing any just ground or reason of quarrell.' Argyle was given command of the West, in case of invasion from Ireland, the Marischal against the Royalists of the North-east, and there was a bid once more for a French alliance, although the party had been terribly shocked when King James had allied himself with Amalek. A general assessment of a tenth was demanded, and enforced, by way of a war-chest.

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[1] Spottiswoode, in popular tradition, has left a persecuting reputation, but in fact more ministers were deprived by the Covenanters between Dec. 1638 and Aug. 1639, on the enactment of a frankly illegal Assembly, than in the whole twenty-three years of Spottiswoode's primacy.

Charles's preparations were heavily handicapped by the lack of one. He called the English Parliament to raise supplies. It refused them, threatened to side with his opponents, and was dissolved in three weeks, on the 5th of May. The Estates were due to meet on the 2nd June. Charles tried to prorogue them for another month, but they caught at a technical informality in the prorogation, and met no less, as 'by the King's tacit consent and presumed allowance,' since, it was declared, the alternative was to dethrone him, and for that they were not as yet ready. They ratified all acts of the Assembly, and ordained that the Three Estates were in future to be the Nobles, Lairds, and Burgesses.[1]

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[1] From this time until Cromwell dissolved the Assembly, the government was practically bi-cameral, the Assembly acting as a Chamber of Deputies, whose franchise was closely restricted to the Party and which had the initiative in legislation; the Estates as a Second Chamber, election to which was rigidly controlled by the First.

A broad basis of that popular support required by elective assemblies was secured by an act that all subjects must confirm their representatives' mandate by signing the Covenant 'under all ciuill paines,' those who refused 'to have no place nor voyce (vote) in parliament,' while all excommunicated by the Assembly (which of course included those who would not sign) came under civil letters of horning and caption. Various old statutes against Papists were also revived, and in case these precautions should be inadequate, an act was passed specifically commanding

> the whole subiectis and liegeis of this kingdome to obey menteene and defend the conclusiones Actes and constitutiones of this present session of Parliament And to subscryve the band appointed for that effect,

while the actual members made another band, pledging themselves to acknowledge that Parliament 'frie and lawfull' and to maintain in future that it was.

A fresh constitutional arrangement was made. Parliaments were in future to be triennial: and when they were not sitting, a permanent Committee of Estates, of forty members, should act as a government, with absolute powers. The first Committee was something of a coalition body, representing all shades of Covenanting feeling, which by this time was beginning to grow varied, for the Covenant party had now been in full power for eighteen months, and had therefore had time to reveal its quality: and some,

> fynding the effectes not answerable to ther expectatione of what was promised, became cold and remitted of ther former zeale:

> and not a few turnd as bitter enemyes to the Covenant as they wer at first fordward freends unto it, and dyed fighting against it or suffered exemplar deathes upon scaffolds for opposing that which once voluntarly they did engadge themselves to maintaine.

It is the story of all revolutions. Here the new Committee included the Earl of Montrose, who had opposed the unauthorised session, with Lords Napier and Wigton, also Stirling of Keir, all of whom were shortly to turn to the King's side. Argyle was not a member : but the Committee was thought to be his invention, it was known he had great power upon it through his followers there, and it is possible that the inclusion of such already suspected men as Montrose and Keir was a deliberate measure to hold them to the Party, by forcing them to association with the doings of a majority they were too much a minority to control.

Meanwhile, ' direct action ' continued also, both military and ecclesiastic. On the 28th July the Assembly met at Aberdeen, with sufficient military escort to overawe the local Royalists. It also was less unanimous than it had been, for an act against conventicles, as hardening the hearts of natural men, roused much opposition from the South-west ministers, who in fact, though it was passed, disregarded it. There was a more fraternal unity over one against monuments of idolatry. Spalding describes (and incidentally reveals how much of the pre-Reformation beauty had been left in the North) how in August ' the arms of Our Lord ' were hewn from the Cathedral pulpit and the tomb of Bishop Dunbar, and the picture of Our Lady ' and her dear sone babie Jesus in her armes,' that had stayed in the Cathedral 'onmoved whyle now,' went also. A mason was called to chisel the I.H.S. from a carved stone, three crucifixes on the town's public buildings were cast down, and windows of private houses, that bore one in their painted glass, were broken. It was not until two years later, however, that the great reredos of the Cathedral high altar was stripped, with 'the staitlie sicht and glorious schow of the body of the haill kirk,' to make room for 'a beistlie loft'; the carpenter struck, and refused to lay hands upon its noble woodwork. The great screen at Elgin, with its splendid colours that had survived 'storm, snow, sleitt, and weitt' in the roofless Cathedral was used to light the minister's kitchen fire. The Ruthwell Cross, the library of Iona (the stone-work of whose kings' tombs was cast in the sea) and the statues at Melrose joined the pious clearance.

A further drive was made against Right Wing ministers: one is charged with having had in his possession and lent to others the works of William Forbes, Rector of Marischal College and first Bishop of Edinburgh, one of the finest Hebraists of his day. Professor John Forbes (son of the great Bishop Patrick) had not used his authority to suppress the same writings: on account of his vast reputation for scholarship and perhaps the veneration of the townsfolk, the previous commission had, after some threats, left him in possession of his Chair, but he was now ejected from the manse that he himself had presented to the University. That institution and the district generally received a further purge, not too peaceably, since at least one new incumbent had to be installed by a party of musketeers : but Aberdeen was finally cleaned up, and as Patrick Gordon puts it,

> thes eminent divines . . . were either deade, deposed, or banished, in whom fell mor learning than was left behynde in all Scottland besyde at this tyme. . . . From that tyme fordward learning began to be discountenanced, and such as were knowing in antiqwity and the wryttings of the Fathers were had in suspitione as men who smelled of Poperye.

Besides these means of securing a civil mandate, the military precautions were continued. It had grown clear by this time that the danger was less upon the English front than from the North-west, the North, and the North-east of Scotland itself. It was therefore (as a statute puts it, referring back to this time)

> necessare for the weill of the religione and peace of the countrey that all the intesteene enemyes thereof [i.e., all non-covenanters] should be supprest and taken order with . . . that they might be brought to that duety which became christianes . . . if it wer possible or otherwayes to go againes them to ther wter rooting out in all hostill manner.

Argyle, therefore, as a warning to the rest, was given a commission to deal at once with the country of Athol, Airlie, and Huntly. (This is that Argyle who was known as Gillespie Gruamach—' Sourfaced Archibald.') On the 5th June he took out 5000 Campbells, and marched to his most successful feat of war. He trapped Athol by a trick, and marched into Angus. Montrose, who disliked these proceedings, tried to avoid bloodshed by inducing his friend Lord Ogilvie, Airlie's heir, to surrender 'the bonny Hoose o' Airlie.' It was burnt notwithstanding: what was nearly the last of the ballads tells of it, though not very accurately, as it was from Forthar that Lady Airlie, on the eve of her confinement, was driven out, Argyle refusing to allow her grandmother to give her shelter. The more general lines of his missionary efforts in inculcating 'the duety of christianes' are revealed not by ballads, but by the indemnity for these proceedings drawn up by his friends for the forced assent of King Charles: he 'intromitted' with

> the rentes and goodis of the saidis persones . . . otheres who were disobedient wer forced to flie and thair houses wer slopped and slightit and vtheris demoleisched and brunt,

in return for which 'good faithfull and acceptable service' to the Covenant, he and all his force are exonerated from

> puting of whatsomever persone or persones to tortour or questione or puting of any persone or persones to death.

Having thus dealt with the anti-Covenanters of the East, he carried fire and sword all through Lochaber.

While this crusade was in progress, events were moving further south. From the beginning of his reign Charles, at first for economic reasons, the results of the shortsighted Tudor methods, and then for religious also, had been at odds with a considerable section of his English subjects, and had brought to his difficulties the same degree of tact as in Scotland. As early as 1636 the English anti-royal party had been trying to stir up disaffection in Scotland. Now they desired a *quid pro quo*, inviting the Covenanters to march on England, and sending papers of adhesion to their cause, signed, according to Gilbert Burnet, ' by many of the greatest peers of England,' who were now taking—with the countries reversed—the same line as the Lords of the Congregation ninety years before. This was encouragement : but lest it should be confined to words, Warriston wrote to Lord Savile, the chief mover, desiring some action from them and the extension of the Covenant to England. The latter proviso frightened them : they would do nothing, but Savile forged their signatures to a further invitation to invade.

The Covenant was now triumphant at home, and had won allies in England. But by this time, some eighteen months from its signing, more than one original enthusiast was beginning to grow alarmed at the party's conduct. There were men who had signed for the sake of freedom of conscience. The Treaty of Berwick had granted that : well and good. But now, within less than a year of that assurance, the freedom was in worse jeopardy than before, and at the hands of its own professed defenders. Montrose had already protested at their parliamentary methods. The missionary efforts of Argyle repelled him further. The two men already disliked and despised each other with the mutual fervour of a statesman who is no politician and of a politician who is no statesman—of a tortuous mind and one unswervingly steady. Now the men who were anxious found more to worry them. It was declared that a Committee of forty was unwieldy: and proposals were made for a Triumvirate, with Argyle in sole charge of that Scotland above Forth where his methods of rule had just been demonstrated. The moderate men forced a modification of this. The North was to be ruled by a Committee of Six, which included Argyle, Montrose, Mar, and Cassillis. But a scheme was drawn up for a single Dictatorship, whose holder was clearly to be Argyle: and Campbell songs declared that he should be King. The Girondins of the original revolution, the moderate men who had made it possible, and were growing disillusioned, became more alarmed. Montrose, who was already recognised as a sort of unofficial leader, called them together, at Lord Wigton's house of Cumbernauld, and they signed a band expressing their adhesion to the original aims for which they had risen:

> whereas we undersubscribers, out of our duty to Religion, King, and country, were forced to join ourselves in a Covenant for the maintenance and defence of these: Now finding how that by the particular and indirect practicking of a few, the country . . . does so much suffer,

they bind themselves out of duty to the above, and especially to the Covenant,

> to wed and study all public ends which may tend to the safety both of Religion, Laws, and Liberties of this poor Kingdom,

and pledge themselves to hazard their lives, fortunes, and estates, and to act together ‘ so far as may consist with the good and weal of the public.’ The chief signatories were Montrose himself, Athol, who had no cause to love Argyle, Almond, now Leslie’s second in command, Wigton, Mar, Seaforth, and the Marischal, of whom all save Athol had been consistently Covenanters, and still so regarded themselves.

To prevent a visible split in the party ranks, the band was kept a secret for the time, and the checking of Argyle and the international situation even produced some return of unity. The English anti-royal party were still using the Scots revolutionaries as a weapon against the King. Certain of the Covenanters regarded the fact as an opportunity to push the Presbyterian cause in England by enforcing the Covenant there, and also to make their allies pay their expenses. Invasion was decided upon, and on the 20th August Leslie crossed Tweed at Coldstream. The Moderates were still united with the Extremists, and whether by lot or by choice (for both are said) Montrose was actually the first man over, wading the ford to encourage his command.

The Second Bishops’ War lasted three days. Charles’s front line was Conway’s force at Newcastle : and Conway, cheerful soul, was no general, nor would his men have been much use if he had been. Leslie marched to Newburn on the Tyne, four miles above

Newcastle, where a ford gave access to the town's unfortified side. On the 28th Conway tried to block it, and his men bolted in 'a shameful and confounding flight.' As Lord Tweedsmuir says,

> A battle which played a major part in our history, and which was to Charles what Bouvines was to King John, was won in an afternoon with the loss of a dozen to the victors and sixty to the vanquished.

On the 30th Newcastle itself surrendered, and the war was over.

It should not have been. Charles was at York with an army. But it was ill-found, and he could not trust his commanders, while the Covenanters' capture of Newcastle gave them control of the London coal-supply and £50,000 of the royal revenue; and much of England favoured them. On the day of Newburn, a petition was presented to the King, praying that negotiations should be opened with the Scots to unite the kingdoms 'against the common enemy to the reformed religion'—i.e., episcopacy. The Covenanters seconded, and begged him to redress their grievances with the advice of an English Parliament.

As Charles had already yielded all the claims which had been the basis of the Covenant, and their demanders were not only supreme in Scotland but had forced the assent of all their opponents there, he no doubt was aware of their real aim. He could do nothing, however, but call a Council of Peers to York in September. They demanded negotiations with the Scots revolutionary government, and named sixteen peers to conduct them—all pro-Covenant, and some of them already in touch with Argyle. On the 2nd October there was a joint meeting at Ripon. The Covenanters claimed £850 a day for maintenance, and Charles, who was practically penniless, had to grant it, and undertake to call an English Parliament for the 3rd November. This was to prove the famous Long Parliament, whose meeting transferred the core of the struggle from Aberdeen to London, renewing and this time making permanent that close association between the Scottish and the English Left that had begun with the murder of Cardinal Beaton, and was to eventuate in the settlements of 1690 and 1707. ‘ No fear of raising the Parliament,’ they said, ‘ so long as the lads at Newcastle sit still.’

The impeachment of Charles’s chief supporters, Strafford and Laud, followed quickly. The English Presbyterians made a drive against their own Bishops, and a ‘ root and branch ’ petition for their abolition was presented on the 11th December. The main interest of the English revolt as yet was not, however, with the religious conflict, and Parliament refused to pass an act. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the Covenant Party demanded that Traquair and other leading Royalists should be put on trial before the Estates, for counter-revolutionary activity. Charles held firm against that, but as a compromise allowed an Act of Oblivion, an amnesty for both sides—which had, however, five Royalist exceptions, the feeble Traquair, two clerics, the Bishop of Ross and Dr Balcanquhal, with

Sir John Hay and Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the Archbishop's son, who had been Lord President.

The Party grip on Scotland grew tighter yet, the ministers who under episcopacy had pled most strongly for the rights of conscience being foremost now in pressing for uniformity, and that in detail. It is S. R. Gardiner, perhaps the greatest authority on the period, and a whole-souled Whig, who, considering them the saviours of the Scottish nation, remarks that they had now become

> a never-resting, ever-abiding power, which pried into their [the public's] lives and called them to account for their deeds as no lay government, however ambitious, could venture to do.

The descending hierarchy of courts, from Assembly through synod, presbytery, and session, gave a penetrating intimacy to their power, for if their election was rigidly restricted to the party, their operation was not. In especial, there was further setting in order of the external practices of religion. Knox's Liturgy was denounced. The old custom of singing the *Gloria*[1] at the end of psalms, the use of the Creed in baptism, and that of the Lord's Prayer, became blasphemy. (Even in the nineteenth century the minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, a Doctor of Divinity, thought the Lord's Prayer should have no place in Christian worship.) To read Scripture and sing psalms at funerals, according to Cant, ' bred debosherie quietly.' He made other objections : at Aberdeen, which he had been set to reform, the people wished for a share in public worship, which was intolerable Papistry. Violent enmity was shown to the commemoration of the Church's Year. Aberdeen in special clung to it, and suffered. Spalding tells how

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[1] To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the God whom we adore,
Be glory as it was and is and shall be evermore.

> Friday the 25th December . . . wheron preachings and praises and thanksgivings wer given to God in remembrance of the birth of our blessed Saviour, and therwith freinds and neighbours made mirrie . . . and had good cheir

had now perforce to be a working day: to rejoice at Our Lord's Incarnation was blasphemy.

> The people wer otherwayes inclined, but durst not disobey.

Easter was even more obnoxious: on the 6th April 1642 (which was Wednesday of Holy Week) it was proclaimed with tuck of drum that no meat must be brought to market until the 30th of the month, and again in 1645, Easter Day had to be a fast, and searchers went through the town's kitchens to confiscate meat. These fasts, which were frequently held, as a rule on Sunday, and especially on a festival Sunday, are described by Spalding: the morning diet of worship lasted from nine to two, after which the people sat still in church 'hearing and reading,' until the afternoon sermon, which lasted till half-past five.

The Catholics suffered even more severely. Their position was already precisely parallel to that of the Jews in Nazi Germany, except that they escaped direct physical torture. Now the rigour of the Penal Laws was tightened, and in 1640 was reinforced by complete economic boycott, for it was forbidden to sell to Catholics or to buy from them. The laws were applied to all classes. The Dowager Marchioness of Huntly, the King's second cousin, aged seventy, was driven from her home, and the Marchioness of Abercorn suffered long and rigorous imprisonment in the Tolbooth. Catholic life at this time, even among the noble classes, can be gauged from the delightful *Brieffe Narration* of Father Blakhall, chaplain to Lady Aboyne, whose adventures in the course of his duty were exciting enough to give him some enjoyment, as congratulating a man who was bragging that he had killed him. But for most Catholic or Episcopalian lay-people, life was filled with a dreary sequence of unspectacular hardships, deprivations, and humiliations, harder to bear than open martyrdom.

While the ministers were purging religious observances to an even higher standard of purity, the main business of their lay supporters, all through this winter, was financial. They endeavoured to arrange for a Brotherly Assistance from their English associates, and on the 12th of the next January (1641) presented their bill. They reckoned expenses, up to the Treaty of Ripon, at £785,628 sterling. Of this they were willing to write off £271,500, and to bear a proportion of the rest. The English Parliament were a trifle startled, but voted £300,000 as a present help.

The association of the Left Wing parties in both countries was in fact beginning to rouse apprehension among the supporters of both. The Scots extremists were declaring that no agreement could be valid unless Presbyterianism were enforced in England, Henderson summing their policy by the image that in the Paradise of Nature a diversity of flowers was agreeable and useful, but that in the Paradise of the Church a diversity of religions was the reverse. Those English who were not Presbyterian (and outwith the Establishment, who were mainly Royalist, many Dissenters held other forms of belief) were alarmed at the prospect of being proselytised by a Scots army: while the more substantial of the English Left, the wealthy business men and landed gentry, were alarmed at the expense of the alliance. In Scotland the Moderates, already troubled, grew more deeply so, for it was clear that the King and his ally Laud had not been more eager to assimilate the Scots Church to the English by the use of the Royal prerogative than the Extremists were now to assimilate the English to the Scots by that of the parliamentary one; while that liberty of conscience they had sought was far less than it had been under the bishops, and day by day grew more and more diminished.

CHAPTER IV

THE SECOND COVENANT

TWO YEARS AND ELEVEN MONTHS: JANUARY 1641–NOVEMBER 1643

> This awkward dyarchy confronted the new Government with all the dangers of a parallel authority, and faced it with a continual challenge to its revolutionary bona fides, which could not be met without a constant succession of revolutionary attitudes.
>
> Philip Guedalla, *Smolny*, 1917, in *The Hundred Years.*

WITHIN three years from the Covenant's putting forth, its party had scored an overwhelming success: and many of its original supporters had come to feel, as the Earl of Perth put it bluntly, ' If this be liberty, give me the old slavery again.' None felt the new tyranny more deeply than Montrose, for he himself had helped to establish it, and from the beginning he had stood for the general principle of freedom rather than in support of any creed. His own, indeed, conformed to no regular pattern. As a young man he had been won by the impressive personality of Henderson, but he was far from assenting to the principles of Cant, and still less to their forcible infliction. He never became a definite Episcopalian—at least he is recorded as saying, just before his death, that he had ' no care for bishops ; ' but in a few years he was to take as his personal chaplain, and make his devoted friend, George Wishart, later Bishop of Edinburgh, who had been already, and was to be again, imprisoned for his Episcopalian principles. But however undefined his faith may have been, it was deep, and its very lack of intellectual definition helped him to an attitude of tolerance. To enforce a religion seemed no less blasphemous in 1641 than it had done in 1637: and for over two years he had been learning the lesson that has been forced upon so many Girondins—that freedom might need defence against its defenders.

He saw the country now gripped by an oligarchy, intensely and intolerantly class-conscious, and foresaw, and foretold, that its end would be to establish a Dictator. (He spoke truth, though he was thinking of Argyle, and the Dictator came from across the Border, and not till the next decade.) Now, he wished to keep what had been the Stewart desire, an organic framework of law for all the nation, with the King as head. He was no doctrinaire believer in Divine Right, but he did consider a personal monarchy, removed from the need of demagogic bidding for support, was necessary to Scotland, and now in serious danger. Further, at Duns and Berwick he had been won by the King's personality to think him a good man who had been mistaken, but who, having learnt his mistake, might yet rule well. It was in the cloudy lull of 1640 that he wrote his *Essay on Sovereignty*, perhaps for William Drummond of Hawthornden, the last of the dying number of men of letters: it is the detailed, lucid, and forceful statement of his political beliefs, and might have been signed by James I, James II, James IV, or the James VI who wrote the best of *Basilikon Doron*.

Thought soon was to issue in action. Already the affair of the Cumbernauld Band had shown him calling like-minded men around him, and he was already considered the leader of the opposition to Argyle in the latter's attempt to win supremacy. He tried now to use his followers as a sort of Bridge Party, and after Newburn protested his loyalty to the King. The spies in the royal bedchamber reported, and he was accused of intelligence with the enemy. He replied that the King could not be the enemy, as the Articles of War made any aspersion on the Sovereign treason. Technically the plea was of course incontrovertible, but fresh suspicion was roused of those counter-revolutionary sentiments that are a certain charge against moderate men so soon as a revolution has succeeded : and at this point the Cumbernauld Band came to light, for Wigton died in the middle of November, and (perhaps in delirium, for he died of a fever) revealed the matter. There was an instant storm, and some joy among the leaders of the Extremists. The band was burnt, and the ministers screamed for the death of its signatories. These were too important, however, for open attack : and the revelation of the band had shown the Moderates of the rank and file that there were leaders who cared, in the words Lord Napier used about this time, for ' the hard estate the country wes in.'

None the less, Argyle still held the main power, and could use the affair to stir up a consolidating fear. In January of 1641 Montrose was again afraid that he would persuade his constituents to make him Dictator.

Apart from any abstract dislike for such an institution, Argyle's administrative methods had been revealed, and he was wholly in the ministers' hands. It appeared to the Banders that the only hope was to bring the King to Scotland. Montrose accordingly wrote to Charles, begging him to come, and by satisfying all reasonable demands cut the ground from under the revolutionary oligarchy and enable the country to unite once more beneath a real national authority. He prays Charles to 'ayme not at absolutness,' but to practise 'the temperat government,' yet without letting subjects 'meddle nor disput of your power,' and to set in the great Offices of State 'men of known integrity and sufficiency.'

> Now is the proper tyme of cure and the critical dayes, for the people love change and expect from it much good, a new heaven and a new earth, but being disapoynted, ar as desirous of rechange to the former estate.

If Charles would but come now,

> so shall your Majesty secure your authority for the present, and settle it for the future tyme; your journey shall be prosperous, your return glorious.

So indeed it might have been . . . if Charles had come at once, if he had been a man of positive as well as merely negative strength, and above all if he had been capable of learning by experience. But he was not, and he was slow in coming, and by May Montrose was in danger at the hands of those whose antagonist he now was coming to be. The circumstances are not clear, but it would seem that Charles's delay had forced him into planning a *coup d'état* that should counter Argyle's designs by revealing them. He was no man to handle an intrigue: his frankness betrayed him, and Argyle's junta, the Committee, got their blow in first. Stewart of Ladywell, Montrose's chief witness against Argyle, was arrested: he maintained his story, then recanted it, betrayed Montrose's plans, and was at once beheaded. Montrose was arrested, and the King himself was virtually charged with treasonable correspondence and 'counter-revolutionary activity'—with, in fact, having promised office to the Banders. He denied it, though he avowed a captured letter promising to take the advice contained in Montrose's.

None the less, things had been made difficult for Argyle. The lay Covenanters at least were still officially monarchist, and Montrose's action seemed likely to force them into an inconvenient declaration of their real intentions concerning the monarchy: and Montrose demanded a trial by his peers, which would have involved plain speaking from both sides. On the 27th July he was called before the Estates, and told them 'My resolution is to carry along with me fidelity and honour to the grave:' and he meant the words. He was called again on the 6th of August and again on the 14th, and again returned to prison, without trial.

On the very evening of the latter day, Charles arrived at last in Edinburgh. He was cheerful. Montrose had revealed that a party was in his favour, and of the original Covenanting leaders, Loudoun also had promised support, and Rothes been bought. But Rothes died at once, and Loudoun, a Campbell, resiled at the order of his chief Argyle, while Montrose was in prison under the shadow of the Maiden. Charles had come too late . . . and it soon was clear he had come for other reasons than the settlement Montrose had desired of him.

What had brought him was less to stabilise matters in Scotland than to seek support against revolt in England, where his difficulties had gone from bad to worse, and he had been forced in May, after a trial whose verdict had been the equivalent of Not Proven, to connive at the execution of his loyal follower Strafford. He had consented because his wife's life was in danger (it is the only occasion when Henrietta's courage is known to have failed her, for as foolish as she was she was not for nothing a daughter of Henri IV) and the consent left a permanent wound in his mind. When a man who is morally fastidious falls below his own standards, his reaction is very often to fling himself further forward in the mud. Charles needed Leslie's army, still, after a year, sitting fast in the North of England. Instead of following the difficult but statesmanlike policy of Montrose, and attempting to make himself a true King of Scots, he tried to buy the army by mere surrender. He sat under Henderson next morning, and when scolded for not attending the afternoon diet of political sermons, addressed at length to the Almighty and at longer length to the worshippers, he apologised and promised to come in future. He accepted, as it stood, the party in power, and they did not even pretend he was their head. When he refused to ratify the acts of the Assembly of 1640, and was told that the ratification was not needed, he bore it calmly. On the 26th August they induced him to ratify a treaty with England, or rather with the English Presbyterians, thus condemning, by implication, his own former actions and those of the loyalists. And on the next day, Leslie's army, for which he had made the humiliating surrender, was disbanded.

He had bought nothing but a position which forced him to further surrender. Argyle now demanded what Charles had refused at Ripon, his party's control of the executive. The Officers of State, the Councillors and the Judges, must be appointed ' with the advice of '—that is, by—the Estates, which for practical purposes were now a party committee. Charles had to give in. Loudoun became Chancellor. Argyle desired to be Treasurer, but Charles, with the Banders' support, named his father-in-law, Morton, a Royalist. Argyle and Morton had a violent scene in public, and the office was put in the hands of a commission, which included Argyle.

Through August and September Montrose had been in prison, hearing of these things. In October, he claimed an interview with the King, offering to prove the treason of both Argyle and Hamilton. Charles was ready to take action, by demanding an investigation. It could not have been refused, but it was burked. For weeks, the leaders of Argyle's party had been calling up armed supporters to Edinburgh : he and Hamilton, who was now hand in glove with him, had 5000 in the city. Now it was declared that the Earl of Crawford, a Catholic veteran of the Thirty Years War, was plotting to kidnap these two noblemen. The whole business (known as the Incident) is obscure: Lord Tweedsmuir and others are of the very probable opinion that it was faked by Argyle, and certainly a plot to murder or kidnap an insurgent leader is always an asset in stimulating weakened revolutionary feeling. It certainly did so now, and involved the King, who demanded, even with tears, a thorough public investigation: 'By God, the Parliament behove to clear my honour.'

They were careful to do nothing of the sort. With a magnanimous gesture which carefully refrained from publishing any evidence, Charles was officially exonerated, and Crawford and the now powerless Montrose were released, thus avoiding the trial where they could have spoken out.

Argyle was stronger than ever. The King's visit, on which so much depended, had been a complete fiasco. Before anything further could be done about it, there was news of a rising in Ireland. The success of the Covenanters had induced the Irish Catholics to play the same game, on the same avowed principles: but popular feeling in Ireland had a very long score to pay, and tried to pay it. One of those waves of panic, so common all through this age, swept over England. There were cries of a popish plot to murder everybody in their beds, and in November Charles had to return, his defeat unredeemed. He tried to leave Scotland peaceable in his rear, since no more might be. Hamilton became a duke, Argyle a marquis, Leslie Earl of Leven. Loudoun and Lindsay also became earls, and Henderson the Dean of the Chapel Royal: and in this shower of honours, with emoluments to match, the King departed, 'a contented prince from a contented people.'

The revolutionaries at least had reason to be content. They had got everything they wanted, and more than they had claimed. The King was powerless to intervene in religion, or in anything else. Not only the Church but the whole legal, administrative, and educational machinery, the control of the armed forces, of finance, and of the press were in Presbyterian hands, whose fingers could touch every detail not only of public but of private life. Their party were more completely supreme than in their golden age, the four years after 1592, while the King was Charles, not James, and an absentee, tied by revolts in both his other kingdoms. Yet, with all these achievements, they were not content. The very ease of four years of unbroken victory left them unsatisfied. It was necessary to go on succeeding, and there was no room for further success in Scotland, at any rate not where a success would show.

One has to remember the nature of their faith. It included, as a clear and cardinal dogma, not merely that itself was a true belief (that is a factor in all honest faith) but that its holders were *ineluctably* predestined to be right not only in belief but in conduct, to be God's chosen and saved, and could not possibly fall from that position ; while those who differed from them in any way were no less firmly ordained to a damnation that not even God Himself could set aside. In the relations between the Saved and the Lost, the common code of ethics did not apply : indeed, it was even blasphemous to apply it, and mercy was a form of sacrilege.[1] Such a belief is a formidable asset in any movement of politics or war : we may see some analogues at the present day, and a thousand years before the same state of mind had sent Islam, within a century of its foundation, from the Indus to the coast of the Atlantic. Their own avowed precedent was the wars of Canaan. Israel had been successful against her opponents, and fallen only when she showed mercy to them. They were a chosen people who had been successful—so successful that Scotland left them no further scope.

To continue succeeding, they must cross the Border. In England, a war parallel to their own, inspired by their own, was clearly about to begin. To those of the party whose interest was in the main a religious one, the King's leading opponents belonged to the True Faith, whose triumph was predestined. To those less concerned with the precedent of Canaan, an anti-royal success was less automatic, but it still must happen, in order to save their necks. For the rank and file, the last four years had been an exciting and triumphal progress : there had been all the interest of a war, and no one but the enemy had suffered : they had won in the turn of a hand, and inevitably they would win again, since nothing could or ought to stand against them.

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[1] That this is no exaggeration can be proved by reference to the printed works of the leaders : or cf. the Estates on quarter after Philiphaugh, for which see p. 104.

For reasons as much psychological as political, intervention in England was therefore bound to come. In less than two months, the occasion had been provided. On his return, Charles was met by the Grand Remonstrance, a detailed indictment of his rule as King and a demand for the expulsion of the bishops from Parliament, the Parliamentary appointment of the Officers of State, the Parliamentary control of the militia, and an Assembly to settle religious questions. (One has to remember that Parliament at this time represented only the towns and the landed gentry, though most of the people then were on the land.) To support all these claims, a popish scare was raised, on lines familiar in our present Europe.[1] The death penalty was demanded for all priests, and the Queen was loudly threatened, which as the affair of Strafford had shown already, was an excellent means of putting pressure on her husband.

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[1] The good-humoured indifferentism of modern England with regard to nearly everything but amusements is a characteristic of very recent growth. Waves of violent mass-emotion, of anger or panic, have been common in that country till quite recent times: compare any description of the Oates affair, or Smollett's of London in 1745, with the cheerful calm that obtained in the General Strike.

It worked now, but in an unexpected direction. There was a wild week of mid-winter. Then, on the 4th January of 1642, Charles gave the crowning instance of his talent for acting strongly on the wrong occasion. On the advice of his plucky, devoted, and foolish wife, he made the famous attempt to arrest, in person, the Five Members, thus infringing the privilege of the House of Commons (as Queen Elizabeth had done more than once) and neatly completing his opponents' case. Success would have been a disaster: but he failed, and his remaining seven years of life were the penalty for that catastrophic blunder. Six days later he left London, not to return to it save as prisoner already sentenced to death before trial. In February the Bishops were expelled from Parliament. At the end of the month, Charles sent the Queen to Holland, ostensibly to take home the eleven-year-old Princess Royal, married the year before to the Prince of Orange, actually for safety, and to raise funds. Then he went to York, with an eye to Hull as a port to the Continent. On the 23rd of April, Hotham shut the gates of that city in his face.

A tense and ominous summer wore through in England. The Covenanters watched it from the North, and their division deepened. The Banders, or as their enemies called them, the Plotters, considered they had won all that was craved, that English domestic quarrels were not their business, and that it was time that Scotland settled down, for the diversion of great part of the population to other interests in the last five years had had evil effects on trade and agriculture.

In May, Charles applied to the Council for support. The Banders arrived in Edinburgh with ‘ backs ’ of armed followers, and were met with a fresh scare of plots against the lives of Argyle and Loudoun, and an influx of Saints from Lothian and Fife. They succeeded, however, in checking immediate action : the Council refused to help Charles, but were induced also to refuse a petition for help from the English Parliament.

The English insurgents feared that Scotland might follow the Banders, and stay neutral : but both Charles and the English Parliament recognised that the real Government was the Assembly, and when it met in July, both appealed to it. The English Parliament spoke of the plots of a Malignant party of papists and ill-affected persons ; desired to prevent the effusion of Christian blood ; wooed the Assembly by informing it that their most godly and considerable part were convinced that a Presbyterian Establishment had just and evident foundation in the Word of God and religious reason ; and called them to aid in such reformation of the Church of England as should be agreeable to God’s word—i.e., should make it Presbyterian. The Assembly responded to treatment, supplicating the King to ‘ labour for a blessed Unity in Religion and Uniformity in Church Government ’—i.e., to do that against which they themselves, five years before, had protested as a forcing of conscience. They also assured the English Parliament of their friendship, and then, following the example of the Estates, appointed a permanent Committee, with plenary powers.

The heavy weeks of the summer drew to their close, and on the 22nd of August Charles, at Nottingham, raised the Royal Standard against his English subjects, and a new civil war was formally begun. Next month the English Parliament, or what was left of it, voted unanimously for the abolition of episcopacy, and passed another act, which affected the whole future history of Scotland. This convoked an Assembly of Divines at Westminster, to reconstruct a national Church for both kingdoms. It did not, in fact, succeed in doing that, but though nearly all its members were Englishmen,[1] this Assembly is to the present Scots Establishment what the Council of Trent is to modern Romanism, for the latest definition of that Church's position, the Church of Scotland Act of 1921, categorically adopts all its formularies as its own principal standards next after the Scriptures.

The Banders renewed their attempt to keep Scotland neutral. In September they suggested that the Queen should return and act as mediator. The division of their party was grown more marked, for they pledged themselves, if she failed, to support the King: and their influence was increasing, for Henderson himself, who in these days ‘ was silent ’ and an unhappy man, signed the proposal. The Assembly’s Committee, however, refused to agree. The Banders, further, petitioned the Council to avoid an attack upon the rights of the Crown, and to keep (as the Covenanters three years before had themselves demanded at Duns) a distinction between religious and temporal matters, and avoid any pledge to the English Parliament that should draw Scotland into a foreign war. The terms were studiously moderate, but it was ‘ flown upon ’ by the Assembly’s Committee, who sent a declaration against the petition to all presbyteries, to be read from all pulpits, threatening damnation to anyone who should sign. Further, the general right of petition was now denied, under threat of citation, which meant excommunication and virtual outlawry. Commissioners were sent to mediate between the King and his English Parliament : but they were instructed to demand uniformity of religion and the King’s own renunciation of episcopacy. And Hamilton, the King’s representative, had betrothed his daughter to the son of Argyle.

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[1] Ninety-eight English divines were present, and five Scots, who included Henderson, Rutherford, and Baillie. The Scots were accompanied by three secretaries and three elders, the Earl of Cassillis, Lord Maitland, later Duke of Lauderdale (of whom a good deal more will be heard later) and Warriston.

The Extreme Left were now definitely a War Party. They tried to assure their rear by winning the Banders, especially Montrose, whom they offered now to make Lieutenant-general. It forced him to a crisis that hitherto he had tried to avoid : he had held still to the Covenanting party, attempting, from within, to keep it constant to the aims it had announced when he had joined it. Now that had become hopeless. He must stay by a party that now stood for everything it had ostensibly been formed to prevent, or else must leave it to defend the Crown . . . or else retire from the conflict and do nothing, which probably did not even occur to him : he was not of those who follow the Whirling Banner,

A Dio spiacenti ed a nemici suoi.[1]

Charles, after an autumn of inconclusive successes—Edgehill was fought on the 23rd October—had gone to winter quarters, at royalist Oxford. In February, in the significant company of Lord Aboyne and Lord Ogilvie, Montrose rode to England. He had given up the attempt to make his party see reason, and the King too, but he now made a final effort. If he could win the Queen, she would win Charles. Aboyne and Ogilvie went on to Oxford, and he to meet the Queen, who landed at Bridlington. He urged her to get the King to give a warrant for a rising of Scots loyalists. (Without such warrant, their rising would be technically treason, as being against the established government, of which Charles was nominally still the head.) He told her that Pym and Argyle were in agreement, but that Argyle was not ready for a war—that the Gordons and MacDonalds, who both had long scores to pay, would gladly fall on Clan Campbell. But Henrietta, seasick, under fire, and in a hurry to get back to her husband, would not take time to understand the man who had been leagued with her husband's enemies. She gave Montrose no help : and Hamilton (whether or not he believed it himself) persuaded Charles that Scotland would stay neutral.

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[1] ‘ Hateful to God and to God’s enemies.’ The allusion is to those whom Dante sees drifting like leaves outside the walls of Hell, because they were neither faithful nor rebellious, and even the damned, accordingly, are their betters.

Montrose went back, and his plans were revealed by the capture of certain papers. Somewhat surprisingly, he was not arrested : it is possible that the influence of Henderson induced his opponents to make a final attempt at his conversion rather than risk an open breach with the Banders. They may have thought that his repulse by the Queen would throw him back to them. Henderson, at least, was permitted to tackle him. They met in a meadow close to Stirling Bridge. The minister admitted frankly that an army would go to England against the King, and begged Montrose to 'join with his peers,' which would bring joy to all and profit to himself. Between the remembrance of old discipleship and the knowledge of his very present danger, Montrose neither would nor could refuse him directly. He asked if there was authority for the offer. Henderson had none, but declared that the Estates would back him. It gave Montrose an excuse, and he took it, refusing, courteously, to commit himself.

A few days later the War Party challenged the King. Under the law that they themselves had demanded, the next Parliament was not due until June of next year. Charles refused to anticipate it, and Argyle, against his refusal, convened the Estates, which met on the 22nd June. Hamilton persuaded the King to ignore the challenge, and sanction the meeting. The glove was not lifted, and through some weeks of summer affairs hung at pause, while the war in England seemed at last to have made a definite turn for the King. Hampden was killed in June at Chalgrove, Fairfax defeated at Adwalton: in July the royal troops had defeated Waller at Roundway Down, and Bristol was about to fall to the King's nephew Rupert, son of 'the Queen of Hearts.' The war looked black for the English Parliament, and on the 19th July they sent envoys to ask their Scots allies to send an army.

Had they dealt with the Estates, they might not have got it, for the Banders were still holding firm on the point that their own revolution (as the Covenant declared in explicit terms) was not against the Crown as such, and that the Covenant bound them to maintain the King's lawful rights. But the Assembly, the masters of the Estates, had met in Edinburgh on the 2nd August.

It was a session full of varied business, some highly significant. They claimed that all excommunicated persons should satisfy the Kirk under pain of rebellion, which implied full identity of Church and State—of citizenship with the holding of a particular ideology. They lamented the great increase of the sin of witchcraft: in Fife alone, that citadel of the Saints, thirty witches had been burnt in a few months. They demanded that an authorised statement of current news, on the right lines, should be circulated to ministers for pulpit use. They objected to the reading and expounding of Scripture in public worship as 'putting preaching in a more narrow and discreditable room.' They denounced an Anabaptist demand for liberty of conscience as 'a fantastick paper.' They remonstrated with the Estates for drinking 'the golden cup of the whore of Babill,' and tolerating Malignants who make bands prejudicial to the Covenant, present petitions counter to the Assembly's, and among other crimes, 'reid papers in the assemblies of God's people without warrant from the Kirk,' and when they can get others to join them,

> wald keip ecclesiasticall assemblies against the assemblies, which is the most factious the most scandelous and the most dangerous way of division and separation that hath been heard of in any kirk or kingdome and thairfoir by ecclesiastick censure and civill punischmentis to be speidilie and powerfullie suppressit as a most pernicious practise tending to the destructione both of religione and of the peace of this kingdome and directlie opposite to the propogatione of the gospell and reformatione of othere kirkis,

which suggests not only the attitude of the Assembly to the Banders, but that the Episcopalians had been driven to give up their initial policy of accepting the law as it stood, and refusing to recognise a definite schism.

To the Assembly in this frame of mind entered the Englishmen . . . and it seemed at first almost as if the influence of the Moderates was showing even among the ministers, for some of these still wished to mediate between the King and the English Parliament. Warriston, however, soon talked them round. The Assembly agreed to a formal alliance with the King's opponents. But then there was more serious dissent. A large number of the English revolutionaries were not Presbyterians, but of assorted nonconformist beliefs: and the Assembly regarded them as ' bloodie and blasphemous sectaries.' It therefore wished the alliance to take the form of a religious covenant with the True Faith only, and was ' peremptor ' to exclude the Sectaries. This put the Englishmen in an awkward position. They themselves did not like the Sectaries, but they needed them, and demanded a civil league, that should include them.

There was fiery debate, but after much argument they arrived at a formula: it was embodied in a document whose shadow was deep on forty-five years (or more) of our history, the famous Solemn League and Covenant, ' for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland.'

The subscribers, described as Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, living under one king and being of one reformed religion, having before their eyes the glory of God and calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots of His enemies, have according to precedent made a band, swearing (1) that they would endeavour the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland and the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland according to the example of the best reformed Churches, and to bring the Church of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in all points; (2) that they would also endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatever is found contrary to sound doctrine; (3) that they would maintain the rights and privileges of Parliament and preserve and defend the King's power and authority; (4) that they would endeavour the discovery of all incendiaries, malignants, and those who seek to divide the kingdoms, come between the King and his people, or make any party against this Covenant, and bring them to condign punishment; (5) that they should keep peace between the kingdoms; and (6) should hold together in mutual defence.[1]

Even when the general principle was granted, the document was not passed without debate. The first clause seriously alarmed the Englishmen, for though they had no objection to attacks on their Episcopalians, who were almost all royalist, they dared not challenge the Sectaries, who were not. Vane, however, saw a way through the difficulty, and proposed an amendment. The English should pledge themselves to maintain the Church of Scotland and endeavour to reform the Church of England 'according to the Word of God,' as well as the example of the best reformed Churches. The Scots, as Baillie makes clear, saw through the shift, and were extremely annoyed, but

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[1] For full text, see Appendix.

Vane had found a formula they could not challenge, and they had to accept.

On the 17th August, therefore, the new Covenant was obediently ratified by the Estates, whose terms added to their allies' subscription of it a subsidy of £30,000 a month, and three months' pay in advance before they moved. The allies were not too pleased : but they needed the Scots too badly to haggle for long. The Covenant was accepted accordingly by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, by the remains of the Commons, and by the few lords who claimed to constitute an Upper House : and on the 13th October the Assembly and the Estates swore it again, and copies were sent to all presbyteries, with orders that it should be read from all pulpits, and then sworn to and subscribed by all men and women, the session clerk subscribing for those who could not write.[1] The penalty for refusing to subscribe being confiscation of all the refuser's goods, 'with a marvellous unanimitie was this everie where received'—*scilicet* in the Lowlands, for the Highlands were less easy to police.

Spiritual unity being thus accomplished, a separate treaty on the 29th November arranged the business side of the partnership. The Estates agreed to provide 18,000 foot, 2000 horse, 1000 dragoons, and artillery in proportion, in return for which they were to receive £31,000 a month, and Leven, who according to Baillie, 'had past manie promises to the King that he would no more fight in his contrare,' again took supreme command of the Covenant Army.

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[1] At Dalmellington in Ayrshire, 179 subscribers out of 222 could not sign their names.

It was five years since the stormy Glasgow Assembly. The Covenanting Government were now definitely committed to armed intervention in an English civil war, to side with an English party against the King who had yielded all that themselves had demanded of him, and to assist that party to force its religion on the majority of the English and Irish. Baillie's comment suggests that his cheerful excitement was cooling. ' The play is begun. The good Lord give it a happie end.' He did not.

CHAPTER V

MONTROSE

TWO YEARS AND SEVEN MONTHS : NOVEMBER 1643–MAY 1646

> Why, how the devil can you believe that Artamines, or what d'ye call him, fought single-handed with a whole battalion? One to three is as great odds as ever fought and won, and I never knew anyone who cared to take that, except old Corporal Raddlebanes.
>
> Sir Walter Scott, *Old Mortality*.

THE play was begun. Montrose, by August, had been clear what was coming, and he broke finally then with his old companions. He rode to the royal headquarters at Oxford, and found the Queen was there, and the King at Gloucester. What happened might have been foreseen. His efforts for reconcilement were less remembered than the fact that for the last five stormy years he had been conspicuous among the King's opponents. Henrietta cold-shouldered him. Hamilton and Traquair, who were neither strong nor intelligent nor honest, were against him. The other Scots on the King's side were jealous. For long they kept Charles from listening to Montrose. At last the new Covenant opened the King's eyes. In December he did what he should have done before—arrested Hamilton and his brother Lanark, though the latter escaped and joined the Covenanters.

These had further consolidated their position : the Estates had decided that

> the estaitis and rentis of all sutche as ar sentenced for not subscryveing the Covenant [were] to be maid furthecumand and vpliftit for the vse of the publict

—i.e., of the party, annual rents thereon due to Covenanters being, however, carefully safeguarded. Autumn wore through, and mid-winter : their preparation continued unmolested. On the 19th day of a new and stormy year, Leven crossed a Tweed whose waters were so frozen that his baggage-carts went over on the ice. His second in command was General Baillie, a natural son of Baillie of Lamington, and with him also was David Leslie, the best officer of these wars on the Covenant side, while soon after he was joined by Sir James Turner, an efficient and chivalrous professional soldier, and no fanatic.

In a week, Morpeth had fallen. By the 3rd February he was before Newcastle, which was held by its Marquis, a fantastic fine gentleman, brave, but not much of a soldier. Two days before, Charles gave his trust, as a last desperate measure, to the man who was to work miracles for him, too late, and to die in a few years for his son's rights : he offered Montrose a commission as Viceroy and Captain-general for Scotland. It is possible that Montrose remembered Wallace : he accepted the impossible task, at least, but declined the honour, which passed nominally to the King's young nephew Prince Maurice, Montrose becoming his Lieutenant-general.

The commission was nearly all that Charles could give him. He was ordered, in effect, to go into a country pinned down from end to end by the King's enemies, and there to raise an army for the King. There were, to be sure, the Highlands, whose religion in perhaps the greater part was either Catholic or Episcopalian, while the Highland clans as a rule hated Argyle. Unfortunately, they also hated each other, for the feuds that followed the breaking-up of the Lordship of the Isles were now firm-rooted, and flourishing like healthy upas trees. Yet to get behind Leven was his only chance. He seems to have looked, as a nucleus for his force, to a group of his personal friends in his own country, on the march between Highland and Lowland —Erskines, Stirlings, Ogilvies, and his own Grahams. As for external help, there was none from England. His best chance was that Antrim might raise the Irish MacDonalds (his own clan) and use them to hold Argyle : he arranged for 2000 of them to come over.

In March 1644 he could move at last. He applied to Newcastle for an escort with which he could get past the Covenant army. Newcastle gave him a couple of hundred men—and a woman, for a ' Captain Francis Dalziel,' a natural daughter of Carnwath's, was among their officers. Ogilvie was there, his good friend, and Huntly's son Aboyne. Newcastle also called up the trained bands of Cumberland and Westmorland, which gave a force of some 1300 men. And the usual quarrelling began at once : Carnwath refused to accept from him the King's commission as Lieutenant of Clydesdale, and as soon as they moved forward to cross the Border, most of the English deserted.

Montrose went on. In mid-April he raised the King's standard in Dumfries, declaring that he was in arms 'for the defence and maintenance of the true Protestant religion, his Majesty's just and sacred authority, the fundamental laws and privileges of Parliament, and the peace and freedom of the oppressed and enthralled subjects.'

It was precisely the official creed of the Covenanters of 1638 : it was Montrose's passionately held personal creed from his first entry in politics to his death : but not a man joined him now to fight for it, nor was he ever to win support in the Lowlands. Lord Tweedsmuir, who has written of Montrose with a noble sympathy and understanding, gives practical and concrete reasons for this :

> He could get nothing from the towns and villages of the Lowlands, for, whatever the feeling of the people, the Kirk and the Estates had a firm control of the machinery of enlistment. As for the nobles, the most powerful were Covenanters, and even if it had been otherwise, were far too jealous and self-centred to follow a young man of no higher rank than their own in a cause which was, at the best, forlorn.[1] Did he hope that his words of wisdom, his far-sighted political doctrines, would carry conviction to a backward peasantry, harassed by temporal want on the one side and the fear of eternal punishment on the other? Besides, he proposed to bring Antrim's Irishry to his

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[1] 'The Maxwells and Johnstones of the Dumfries neighbourhood were in no mood to rise, and their heads—Nithsdale and Hartfell—were jealous of the new commander. Annandale, Morton, Roxburgh, and Traquair, though nominally royalists, refused, like Carnwath, the King's commissions of lieutenancy, by means of which Montrose had hoped to organise a formidable opposition. . . . "The bauld Buccleuch," a young man of eighteen, was commanding . . . a regiment under Leven.' *Op. cit.*

aid, and Antrim's Irishry, though most of them were Scots, seemed to the Lowlands so many emissaries of the Pope and the devil.

There may have been another reason also. The Covenant, as a statement of belief, is a vague and self-contradictory affair: but for that very reason, and its length, it was now no more a formula, but a flag, a name that stood no longer for its own text, but for a very much more compendious creed, purely negative, but even because of that, all the more easy for simple minds to grasp. The Covenant, to these, meant an objection to Charles and to bishops. Montrose had to oppose to one half of this a mere open mind: he had 'no care for bishops.'[1] To him the external forms of church government were simply not relevant, while to the Lowlands they were hotly relevant. To the other half of this concrete negative that was the popular sense of the Covenant, he opposed his theory of freedom and sovereignty. These he did 'care for': but they were abstractions, based on a social psychology that was sound as a generalisation, but abstract again: and the only concrete embodiment he could offer for them at the time was, of necessity, Charles, who had not yet begun that recapture of sympathy that was to be the base of the Engagement. Had Montrose himself been King, the fire in him, his own innate kingliness, would have roused other fires, and made men feel. To rouse them now he tried simply to make them think, and had not the gift of words that would take their minds past King Charles to the place of the Crown in the nation at large, or would frame a formula to spare them thought. With the Highlands it was different : what they *felt* would take them to Montrose's side. The notion of chiefship, to which a very profound emotion attached, is precisely that of Montrose's ideal of kingship, and the fact that Montrose could not speak in phrases they knew did not count, for there was no need to speak at all. He and they simply took the same things for granted. The Lowlands needed by now to have them explained, and Montrose lacked the gift of lucid explanation, while his opponents, from every Lowland pulpit, were reiterating a lucid counter-creed.

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[1] 'To care not for,' in the language of the time, does not mean to be hostile but to be indifferent. If he had been hostile he would not have taken Wishart for his chaplain.

His venture in the South was therefore hopeless. Huntly rose in the North, but Argyle immobilised him. Antrim did not come ; Callendar, who as Almond had signed the Cumbernauld Band four years since, did, with a Covenant force of 7000, and Montrose had to fall back again on Carlisle. Charles recognised the attempt by promotion to a marquisate, the Covenanters by excommunicating Montrose and Huntly. Two of the latter's men, Gordon of Haddo and Logie, son of the deprived Archdeacon of Aberdeen, with a gentleman of Nithsdale, Sir James Maxwell, were taken and went to the scaffold, all care being taken to make their deaths as ignominious as might be.

Through the early summer Montrose devoted himself to holding Callendar in the North of England, provisioning Newcastle, and re-taking Morpeth and South

Shields. He succeeded in drawing off some of Leven's force, now before York, and harrying their lines of communication. Since winter the war had gone against the King. In June Prince Rupert moved to relieve York, and called Montrose. Before the Marquis arrived, Rupert met Cromwell and Leslie on Marston Moor, on the 2nd of July, and his force was broken. It meant the practical loss of the North of England, save for Carlisle. Only Wales and the South-west now held for the King.

Montrose reached Rupert on the 4th, at Richmond, and begged for a thousand of what horse had been saved, to cut his way through to the North for a fresh campaign. Rupert was always his friend, but he could spare nothing. Montrose rode sadly away towards Carlisle, and on the way he thought, and he resolved. (He was then the age that Bruce had been at his crowning, a little before his thirty-second birthday.) With the thousand men for whom he had asked Rupert he might have tried to relieve the pressure on Charles by a diversion in the enemy's rear. He could not have them. He chose still to make the attempt—with two men, four scraggy horses, and no money. There was never a madder resolve in history, not even Bruce's lunatic coronation: yet in less than a year he had made himself master of Scotland. He was to fail in the end, but in the quality of success and failure to leave a name like a clear and steady star, to bend men's knees and lift their hearts from the dust. There are smaller services one can do one's country.

He rode north with Sir William Rollo and Colonel Sibbald, disguised as Covenant troopers going on leave. For the four days' journey he went 'as if a cloud invironed him,' and on the 22nd August, two years to a day since Charles had raised his standard, he reached Tullibelton, near Perth, the home of his good friend Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie. He came home to a Scotland of strange omens. The sun shone clear at midnight in the North-east, two ghostly armies fought on a hill near Banff, and the sound of a cannon-shot rolled over the kingdom. There were other omens, worse if more prosaic. Huntly had shot his bolt: his sons had been driven by Argyle their uncle to the Covenant side. The Campbells were in arms, the Covenanters levying troops in Aberdeenshire, under pain of death. Even some of Montrose's own kin were with the Covenant flag, driven out by threat of fines and confiscation. There was no news of the Highlands, none of Antrim.

He waited for a week of unhappy days. Then, as he prayed for Scotland in Methven Wood, where Bruce's cause had seemed broken in its beginnings, he saw a man running who bore the Fiery Cross, and was told that Antrim's force had landed at last. They were, and are, called Irish: it damned them better. In fact, they were mainly MacDonalds and MacLeans, driven from the Isles by the stretching Campbell power, and with a long score against the myrtle badge. Colkitto who led them—Alasdair mac Cholla Ceitach—was the son of Colonsay, a huge man, near seven feet high, a wild-cat fighter, a splendid leader of men, but no strategist: indeed, his brains were those of a touchy boy.

Colkitto had come, and his position was grave. He had landed at Ardnamurchan in July,[1] and went through it with fire and sword. Argyle burnt his ships. Colkitto marched to Lochaber to join the Gordons, and found Huntly had gone down. Then he tried Kintail. Seaforth, a Bander, was still with the Covenant: he was no enthusiast, but he still barred fighting alongside his clan's long enemies, the MacDonalds. Colkitto therefore went to Badenoch, and was now cut off there. Somehow he got a letter to Montrose, who bade him come to Blair Athol, and he obeyed. It was not a healthy spot—too near the Line, and that country was Protestant, while his force was Catholic. The Robertsons would not join him. He waited, and there came two men in the tartan—the King's Lieutenant-general and his army: and young Black Pate of Inchbrakie was all the army.

It sounds like Gilbert and Sullivan: it was to be a good deal more like Homer. Between the King's Commission, the personality of the new leader, and perhaps the sheer desperation of the venture, the Stewarts and Robertsons laid aside their suspicions, and came in. Next day the standard with the scarlet Lion rose on a knoll above the river Tilt: and the leader of still not much over 2000 men sent a formal challenge to the master of Scotland. It was a wild situation. Argyle was already marching from the West, and the Campbells could put 5000 men in the field. Burleigh at Aberdeen kept down the North-east. Elcho at Perth held the Tay, with 7000 men, 700 cavalry, funds, and ample provisions. About half of Montrose's 2000 men had muskets—with one round apiece: the rest swords, bows, even clubs. His cavalry were three garrons. He had no guns, no money, no base, and no provisions.

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[1] The dates reveal 'the fog of war' at the time. He had been in Scotland for over a month before the commander who desperately needed him knew it.

But his force was Highland. The Lowland levies were reasonably drilled, and some of them were fanatics who would fight: but the South, in the main, was now a country of peaceful farmers and burgesses. The Highlanders, better fed, had better physique, they loved fighting like a mistress, and they could *move*: like the French Foreign Legion, they were *cavalerie à pied*. Their base was the nearest rough country: if they fed better in peace, they could live in war on less than their opponents. A trained soldier of the day would have torn his hair and asked Argyle for terms: but Montrose had no professional preconceptions. He fought by an uncanny mixture of cold reason to see just what was in front of him, instinct to guess what was happening over the hill, and a third thing that has no name, the power to kindle fire in the hearts of men. And he knew and understood the Highland mind, as he never in all his life was to do the Lowland.[1]

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[1] He is called Lowland, but was not, unless Lovat or Sinclair, MacLeod or Drummond, are Lowland. His house may have had a Norman origin, but these four come from stock originally Flemish, Norman, Norse, and Hungarian respectively; and pity the man who questioned their right to the tartan!

His position, by all the rules, was completely hopeless. So he struck, and struck home. On the 30th of August he marched on Elcho, not by the obvious route, but through the hills, and on the way met fortune. His brother-in-law the Master of Maderty, Lord Kilpont, who was heir of Menteith, and Sir John Drummond, a son of the Earl of Perth, had been ordered to raise 500 men to resist him. They raised them, but joined him instead: and they camped the night. Next day was the 1st September, and a Sunday. Elcho's force was assured by the Perth ministers that the Holy Ghost had promised them victory. So did arithmetic: they were three to one. They marched out happily to Tippermuir, with the battle-cry of 'Jesus and no quarter,' and a host of peaceful citizens went to watch.

Montrose sent Maderty under a white flag to offer truce to avoid profaning the Sabbath. Elcho made him prisoner, and promised to hang him when the battle was over. It did not last long. Elcho's position was good, and he had room for his cavalry to deploy. But Montrose showed the uncanny adaptability, the eye for facts, and the imaginative resource that are his glory as a commander. He thinned out his line to prevent outflanking, gave his one round of fire (the rear rank flinging stones for lack of muskets) and hurled his men forward out of the smoke of it—foot, and unarmoured, against cavalry with artillery support. And it worked. The torrent broke the cavalry, swamped the guns, and drove the chaos of men and frightened horses through the ranks of Elcho's foot, and crumpled those. The rest was a rout through a blazing autumn day, and ten of the good burgesses of Perth died of sheer running without a mark on them.

Perth surrendered, with all Elcho's stores, and his colours: and Montrose held the men of that mad charge in order, forbidding violence, forbidding the captured guns to be trained on the fugitives. The city suffered no more than a fine of £50 and a levy of cloth, while the ministers were politely asked to dinner . . . one of them later being censured by his presbytery for saying grace.

The effect was mainly moral. There was that, for the Covenanters of both countries were startled, and some Scots troops were drawn off from Newcastle. But Montrose's small force shrank at once, as the Athol and Badenoch men went home again;[1] and a few days after that he lost a friend, for young Lord Kilpont was stabbed in the night by Stewart of Ardvoirlich, who fled to the Covenanters and was pardoned. Within a week of that, on the 12th September, the Estates offered £1,600 sterling and a free pardon for any previous crimes to any man who would bring them Montrose's head.

Tippermuir had heartened the Royalists: but Argyle was coming from the West. Montrose decided to go east, and attempt Dundee. It was too strong, for he had no siege guns; and now, too, he heard of Burleigh at Aberdeen. He drew off, and went recruiting. Lord Airlie joined him with his younger sons. (Lord Ogilvie was a prisoner in England.) Here were men he could trust, for through these tangled years the House of Ogilvie followed a steady star. With the Gordons he had less luck. Huntly was in the heather, Aboyne in the garrison of Carlisle, and Lord Gordon, the heir, with Lord Lewis, were with Burleigh. Nathaniel Gordon, a cadet of Ardlogie, joined him, however—a cheerful and completely reckless spirit with a wide experience of all the less official forms of war and a strong dislike of Mr Andrew Cant. Between them the new men brought 75 horse.

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[1] It has to be remembered that these men were not paid professional soldiers, but unpaid peasant levies with wives and families dependent on them and left unprotected in country often dangerous, and without communications. The only form of separation allowance possible was for the breadwinner to carry home the plunder that was his pay. Hence the habit of Highland armies of dispersing. Moreover, this was just on the eve of harvest, and these men were crofters.

Dundee was behind on one flank, Argyle on the other. Montrose went ahead and attempted Aberdeen. He took it, and he made a blunder and worse, that stains a clear memory, gave his foes a handle, and made the North-east, the most Royalist of the Lowlands, suspicious of him when he most needed their trust. To avoid the long Brig, across which he had once led the Covenant troops, he crossed the Dee between Banchory and Drum. On the 12th September he marched against the town, and found Burleigh holding the Hardgate, with his men in cover among the garden walls. There were about 2500 Covenant troops. Montrose had a little over 1500.

Next morning, the 13th September—his evil day, for its next recurrence brought him Philiphaugh—he summoned the city to surrender, ' otherwise, that all old persons, women, and children, do come out and retire themselves, and that those who stay expect no quarter.' The magistrates, who were probably at least half sympathetic, answered, summarising this as ' no quarter except to old persons, women, and children,' which was not what he had said, and did not evacuate their non-combatants. Lord Tweedsmuir remarks on the uncharacteristic threat. It is in fact possible, as he suggests, that Montrose was still in a black mood of grief and anger at his friend's murder not a week before : it is possible, too, that the threat was largely bluff. The town was the centre of anti-Covenant feeling, and he may have wanted to give it an excuse for a surrender over Burleigh's head.

The bailies received his messenger politely, and gave silver to the drummer-boy who came with him. Then the two returned, still under the white flag : and one of the Fife fanatics raised his piece, and deliberately shot the child who bore it. It roused Montrose, who had three small boys of his own, to a towering fury. (It should be remembered that a hasty reading of the carelessly written reply might have made it seem that the bailies had agreed to evacuate their non-combatants, as he bade them.) He promised Colkitto the sacking of the town, and set his men in order for attack, each with a bunch of oats from the fields in his bonnet.

He had a better force than at Tippermuir. Burleigh had both good men and good officers, for Forbes of

Craigievar nearly rolled up the Royalist right, and had the ' Irish ' been less fine fighting stuff, would have done it : but the Covenanters broke at last, and Montrose did not spare as he had done at Perth. He went back to his camp, and left the troops a free hand with the city.

Precisely how bad was the business is hard to make out. Certain later writers talk of a wholesale slaughter of women and children. Non-combatants were killed undoubtedly ; there was much looting, and some women appear to have been carried off. Spalding, a Royalist but hostile to Montrose and to Highlanders generally, says that women were killed : he is the only contemporary who says so, and he gives a list of 115 named *men* and three unidentified, but no names of women. (His list counts the burgh casualties in the fight and rout as well as in the sack.) The Burgh Records mention no killing of women, nor does Baillie, who, good innocent gossip, loved atrocities so long as he did not see them : he puts the dead at 140. Richard Frank, in his lively Fisherman's Guide to Scotland, published in 1658, recalls his visit to the town : he liked the place and talks a good deal about it : he mentions the battle, and Montrose's ' imcomparable conduct,' but has no mention of atrocities. He was an Englishman and not Royalist.

None the less, it was bad enough. Montrose entered the town on the next day, and tried to get his men in hand again. They had his promise, and they told him so. It took him that day and the next to call them off.

It was the last time. He never let them get out of hand again: but that fit of anger over the murdered child had wounded his honour, his soul, and the King's cause.

He marched on the 16th. Argyle entered Aberdeen on the 19th, and exacted his toll of fines and requisitions. He had 4000 men, of whom 1500 were cavalry. Montrose marched west, and appealed again to Huntly, who would not rise: then he darned himself into the hills, making for Badenoch, and Colkitto insisted on drawing off to the West, to recruit and see to the safety of his own castles. This left Montrose with only 500 men, and now too he grew seriously ill—a fever from fatigue, so it is said, but one wonders how much the fatigue was emotion or conscience? By the 4th October he could march again, with Argyle in pursuit, and they made 'a strange coursing' through the autumn weather, for a fortnight or more, in a circle about the eastern mass of the Grampians. He came back to Strathbogie to try for Huntly again. On the 24th, Argyle all but took him at Fyvie.

It was their first meeting in arms. Argyle was five to one, and Montrose had to melt the castle pots for bullets, while the only possible way of getting powder was from the pouch of the nearest Campbell corpse. Argyle attacked, and was driven off, and Montrose, having captured his powder, slipped off in the dark. Argyle then proclaimed an offer of free passes to those of Montrose's officers who would go home. One is sorry to add that Colonel Sibbald availed himself of one. So, however, did Nathaniel Gordon, and Bishop Guthrie specifically states (what the gentleman's character makes very likely) that he was away on some wild ploy of his own: and he did return in the spring and brought young Lord Gordon.

Montrose took what men he had left to Balveny in Speyside, and there he called a council, to take stock. It was the end of October: winter was coming. The Lowland men disliked the idea of keeping up with the Highland *cavalerie à pied* through a winter campaign in the hills, and they were anxious for their families and estates. (Montrose's own kinsfolk, and some of his friends', were in prison.) Montrose therefore offered a campaign in the Lowlands, that should serve what had all along been his major purpose, the holding up of Leven's army—a point made more vital by the news, now received, that Newcastle, which Leven had besieged all summer, had fallen five days before the action at Fyvie. Leven had now gone into winter quarters in orthodox fashion, and an unorthodox raid into Covenant country was likely to keep him from action against the King. The Lowlanders, however, thought the odds too great, and most of them dispersed, though the Ogilvies—who after all were as much and as little Lowland as Montrose—remained constant as ever to their motto *À fin*.

Montrose held still to the essence of his plan, though he changed both its means and its immediate objective. As Lord Tweedsmuir (to whom this chapter is much indebted) has pointed out, he knew the value of ' side-shows ' in a war where political factors counted heavily. He decided to strike not Leven, but Argyle, who was cantoned at Dunkeld. He marched on him: but Argyle too disapproved of winter campaigns, and refused action even at four to one, falling back on Perth, whence he sent his clan home, and going to Edinburgh resigned his commission, and complained of his inadequate supports. He was politely if somewhat coldly thanked, and his commission given to General Baillie.

The news stopped Montrose at Blair. Then his luck turned. Colkitto came back, not only with the ' Irish ' but with a force from the middle Highlands as well—500 MacDonalds, with MacLeans, Stewarts, Farquharsons, and Camerons: and every man of them hated the myrtle badge and the boar's head crest. It was the best force Montrose had had so far. He decided to use it, still against Argyle . . . but to do the wholly unexpected thing, and strike not the Covenanting leader but the Highland chief whose chiefship gave him importance as a leader, and to strike him in his own fastness, thought impregnable, and in a season thought impossible.

The map shows how immensely strong was the Campbell country. Its land frontier lay along the greatest hills, roadless, the passes through hill and bog hardly known; and his chef-lieu, Inveraray, was at its heart. Even without the snow and the bogs of winter, the winter torrents, the plan must have looked demented. The only possible road lay by Breadalbane, so there he marched, with some 3000 men. More than a week of December was gone when they started, by Loch Tay and Glen Dochart to the head of Loch Awe. Once in Campbell country they carried fire and sword: the clan tasted what it had given six years before.

Argyle heard in Edinburgh they had marched west, but thought nothing of it, and came home to Inveraray with easy mind. Then came the news. They were through the passes, marching on the town. Argyle fled by sea to Roseneath, and the townsfolk also, and for some weeks Montrose's men held Inveraray.

General Baillie was sent to Roseneath, where he found Maccallummore in a bad temper, and very insistent on seniority. He had to yield him sixteen companies of foot, which were given, since Argyle had raxed his shoulder, to Campbell of Auchinbreck, while Baillie went to Perth to get in touch with Seaforth at Inverness. Montrose was in a quadrilateral, of Seaforth, Baillie, Argyle, and the deep sea: and the Covenant forces were of the opinion, as Robert Baillie remarked at the same time, that they must get 'the life of these worms chirted out of them.' The worms, however, moved for the Great Glen, in a south-west gale, to deal with Seaforth: they were about 1500, while Seaforth had 5000. At the head of Loch Ness, a poet changed affairs. Keppoch's bard, the famous Iain Lòm, came over the hills, and warned Montrose that Argyle was behind at Inverlochy with 3000. 1500 men, jammed fore and aft by 8000, is long odds for even old Corporal Raddlebanes. Montrose decided that Seaforth could wait awhile. Not many marches in history stand by what follows. The classic phrase, ‘a hyperborean hell,’ describes the route of it in that winter weather. On the 31st January they went up the Tarff and over Corryarrick to Glen Roy, marching all day and night by hills glazed with ice, glens choked with drifted snow, and swollen rivers, and they had no fire in that time and little food. By dusk the next day they had skirted, high up, the great massif of Ben Nevis, and could see the Campbell camp at Inverlochy.

They lay on the hill all night, still with no food but meal and cold water eaten on the sgian: and Montrose, who had marched with the rest, fared like the rest. When the day broke—it was now Candlemas—the Campbells found they had been cut off from Seaforth and from their own country. Montrose attacked. It was sheer straightforward fighting. Some 1500 Covenanters fell—nearly the number of Montrose’s army. Clan Campbell were done for the time as a military factor: their chief fled by sea with the civilian committee that had been appointed to superintend his actions.

Montrose wrote to Charles that he was ‘in the fairest hopes.’ The Covenanters were appalled. Argyle was publicly thanked, for the sake of morale, Montrose excommunicated once more, and forfeited of life, lands, and goods; and the Assembly demanded the immediate execution of Lord Crawford, Lord Ogilvie, and Dr Wishart. The Estates were aware that there were such things as counter-reprisals, and merely outlawed Carnwath, proclaiming his murder as a national service.

And meanwhile the peaceful Westminster Assembly had gone on with its work, under the shelter of the English Parliament, who had called it, nominated it, determined where, how, and how long it might sit, censored the publication of its proceedings, and saw that no unauthorised spectators attended its debates. It now produced its first-fruits, the most enduring results of that wild year, for the *Directory of Public Worship* and the *Form of Church Government* (the 'internals,' so to speak, were left till later) had been passed by the English Parliament, and were now sent to the Assembly for acceptance: and both still determine the order of public worship and of church government both in the Scots Establishment and in the other Presbyterian bodies, Scots and English alike.[1]

Inverlochy had encouraged the Royalists. Charles told Montrose he would bring an army to Scotland. He had reckoned without the genius of Cromwell. In England as in Scotland the Covenanting party were dividing: within a fortnight of Inverlochy, the Independent general, Oliver Cromwell, had secured the constitution of a New Model Army, trained by himself, that was to break Charles and the Covenant alike.

Montrose's natural course, after Inverlochy, was to strike for Edinburgh: but he had neither cavalry nor guns. He marched therefore north to Elgin, and there Nathaniel Gordon returned, with Lord Gordon, Lord

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[1] The Assembly were inclined to take exception to the fact that the Directory provided for the public reading of Scripture, but the eighteenth century Moderates led the way back to conformity on the point.

Lewis, and 200 troopers, and Seaforth came in too and made his peace . . . and Montrose had to face two bitter personal sorrows, the death of his eldest son, and in a skirmish, of his friend Donald Farquharson, who

> was neuer seene to be angrie . . . and yet he gave proofe of alse much true curraige as any man could have . . . even in the saddest and most desperat tyme [he was] euer jocund and cheerfull . . . All his actions wes oblidgements :

and his second son was captured and sent to prison in Edinburgh.

Through the next weeks he occupied the North-east, defeating Hurry at Fettercairn. Baillie blocked his path south : Montrose marched by his old road to Dunkeld, and as Baillie fell back on the Forth, the Highlanders melted away to see to their crofts, for it was spring. Montrose therefore diverted his attack to Dundee, the chief base of the Covenant north of Forth, for he lacked supplies and his soldiers were nearly naked. In ten hours' night marching he came before the town : it was quickly carried. There is no word of personal violence, but the troops were allowed to loot . . . and in late afternoon he learnt that Baillie had not gone to the Forth, but had joined Hurry, and both were within a mile—five to one in foot and longer odds in horse. His men were scattered after an all-night march and a sharp attack. His officers counselled him to abandon his army, or to sell his life and theirs as dear as might be. He did neither : by sheer strength of will he got his men together (Gardiner says it would have been beyond the power of any other commander in all Europe, and the best soldiers of the day agreed) and cleared the East Port as Baillie rode in at the West.

Hurry and Baillie arranged themselves as pincers. Montrose beat off Hurry, doubled back in the dark, slipped between the two and got clear away to the hills. Baillie, no fool, learnt the movement, and came after. Montrose had halted, and was nearly caught: in thirty-six hours his men had marched over fifty miles, fought several actions, sacked a city, and many of them, been very drunk. But their officers got them awake at the sword's point, and they beat off Baillie, and marched again to safety among the bogs.

There was fury and much fierce Scripture among the Saints. One would like to go into the summer's campaign in detail, but it has been handled brilliantly by Lord Tweedsmuir, and in this book can only be incidental. In spite of a fresh Covenanting levy, Montrose eluded his opponents and smashed Hurry, one wet May morning, at Auldearn, in a battle that not only anticipates the daring plan that won Austerlitz, but shows how he could use cavalry when he had it. Baillie still blocked the road to the South, however, and Montrose led him a complicated dance by Speyside and the East Grampians. It was not until the 2nd of July that Baillie brought him to action at Alford in Donside; and there, by sheer sense of terrain, Montrose inflicted on him Hurry's fate . . . and there also lost his chief friend, and worthy of the friendship, young Lord Gordon, who stands unwavering among his uncertain house.

The King's enemies seemed completely broken in

Scotland. But then from England there was shattering news. More than a fortnight before the success at Alford, Cromwell's New Model had finished the English Royalists at Naseby. Naseby was a wild business, ending sadistically in the massacre of three hundred royalist women, and the slashing of the faces of many others, 'just rewards for such wicked queans:'[1] but it changed the whole political situation. Not only was the King down, but Oliver Cromwell was at the head of England, and he loved Presbyterians no more than Episcopalians. Ten days after Naseby, Carlisle fell to David Leslie, and his army was set free to face Montrose.

Montrose struck south to meet him, with the best army he had yet commanded. The Estates had been driven to Perth by an outbreak of plague. They attempted now to surprise him in Methven Wood, and he fell back: but his force outmarched a number of 'the wives of the Irish and the Highlanders, who followed the camp for the love of their husbands': Baillie's men caught these, and butchered them out of hand. Montrose moved by Kinross and Stirling, turned Baillie's flank, and cut between him and Lord Lanark, who was bringing a Covenanting force from Glasgow. On the 15th August he won another battle, among the ripening corn about Kilsyth—fifty-one weeks since he had raised the standard. It was, perhaps, his completest victory: the massacre of the women had roused the Highlanders to bitter fury, and Baillie's horse were bogged. Baillie flung himself into Stirling: Argyle, who loved the galley of his arms, took boat.

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[1] It is advanced as excuse that they must have been women of bad character to be there at all. There were 4000 women and children with Leven's saints in England: and then and later both officers' wives and privates' expected to follow the drum as a regular thing.

Kilsyth completed the triumphs of the year. Glasgow received the victor with Latin verse, and was spared, a few attempting looters being hanged. Then he went to Bothwell, and attempted to arrange a provisional government, receiving the surrenders of districts and notables, that represented nearly all the South. His friends were released—Lord Napier, Stirling of Keir, and their women-folk. The plague-stricken Edinburgh submitted and freed such royalist prisoners as had not died in the Tolbooth, among them Lord Ogilvie and the future Bishop Wishart, who bore its rat-bite scars on his face till he died, and never, as bishop, sat down to a meal till he had sent part of it to his old prison.

Montrose received the King's commission as Lieutenant-governor, and orders to join the Border earls and march south. He called a Parliament for the 20th October, 'to free the oppressed subjects of insupportable burdens,' and issued a manifesto inviting recruits. But as Lord Tweedsmuir says, 'the Lowlands had no other voice nor ear than the ministers:' and with an infallible Pope in every parish, armed with boycott in this world and hell-fire in the next, the people were not likely to respond.

The Highlanders were melting again to the harvest, and Colkitto insisted on drawing off most of his men to attack Kintyre, while Aboyne thought that he had not sufficient status, and went home. Montrose marched still with what he had, to Kelso. Leslie, moving north to meet him, crossed Tweed on the 6th September. They felt for each other. Montrose hoped for levies from Douglas, Home, and Roxburgh, forgetting, perhaps, their conduct in 1639. Then he heard that the latter two were prisoners . . . not, perhaps, by force. Traquair came, left his son, and rode home again. Montrose turned to Jedburgh: no help from the Kers or the Scotts. He made back to the hills, and on the 12th September came close to Selkirk. Another day of marching would give him safety, in that hill country he could use like a weapon.

Next day, a year from the sack of Aberdeen, saw the ruin of his work at Philiphaugh. He had been betrayed by Traquair, apparently. (That Earl died a beggar in Edinburgh streets.) Leslie came up. There was fog in the autumn morning, and Montrose's intelligence blundered. He was caught, at odds of five to one. It was a surprise and massacre, not a battle, though the Royalists fought—the Ulstermen best—superbly. Montrose would have died there, but his friends forced him off, and at last a party of thirty fled to the hills by the drove-road high on Minchmuir, and since Traquair refused to take them in, on to Biggar, and six days later were safe in the Highlands. The colours were saved, one by an Ulsterman, one by a Hay of Kinnoull.

The Covenanters had won the war after all. Now they proceeded to make sure of the peace. Their methods were declared on the day after the fight. The surviving 'Irish' surrendered on promise of quarter. The ministers with Leslie objected: the unarmed men were butchered next day in cold blood, in the courtyard of Newark. Some three hundred women were also put to death: a number of the poor souls were with child, and their captors took the precedent of Canaan with a ghastly literalism. Patrick Gordon's description of what the results looked like is more than one can quote. Some had fled to the hills, and were killed there, and eighty, rounded up, were herded into Leslie's camp at Linlithgow, and drowned in form from the bridge, held under the water by the long pikes of the soldiers, who quietly obeyed their spiritual directors. It may be noted that when this sort of thing was done in cold blood, it was never the soldiers who took the initiative, and the officers as a rule protested.

The more important prisoners were dealt with separately. The lame Sir William Rollo, who had shared the whole campaign, was beheaded at Glasgow, with Sir Philip Nisbet and Alexander Ogilvie younger of Inverquharity, a boy of eighteen. Some of the laymen objected to the lad's death, and the synods took fright. When in December Lord Ogilvie, Nathaniel Gordon, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, old and non-combatant, and Tullibardine's brother, William Murray, aged nineteen, came for trial there were many petitions. The Synod of Galloway begged that

> the sword of justice may be impartiallie drawn against those persones now in bonds who have lifted up their hands against the Lord and the sworne Covenant and this afflicted Kirk. And if, which God forbid, the justice of this Parliament remedie not our woes, we apprehend the ruine of this kingdome . . . with the progress of God's wraith against us.

There were several others to the same effect, Fife desiring, in italics, that the land may be *purged of blood* by the prisoners' deaths.

The Estates were polite to these *just and pious desyres*, also in italics. The men were tried for treason. All pleaded the King's commission, and that they had been given quarter. Spottiswoode, a gentle elderly scholar, once Lord President of the Court of Session, spoke for one of the rest, in a long and learned speech full of a stately and sober eloquence. He declared, as every lawyer there knew was true, that the pannel

> can not be callit in question of Lyfe or fortune Becaus he is a prisoner of warre takine upon quarter . . . And be the Law and ressaved custome of all nations where warre is not turned in a downright boutcherie there be jura belli held inviolable.

They were executed, however, Spottiswoode writing to Montrose a noble letter begging him to abstain from reprisals: and on the 10th January the Estates made the question of quarter very clear:

> If this defence of quarter be susteaned, then the whole nation, especiallie the Estates of Parliament, does violat the oathe of the Covenant.

Montrose did abstain from reprisals, although he was again in case to exact them. He had raised a small force in Athol, and was joined once more by Aboyne and Lewis Gordon: he turned south, and Huntly recalled the two young men. This was October. Charles sent a small force from Welbeck, and Montrose marched on Glasgow to meet them: they never reached it, and Leslie was too strong for him to attack. He sought Huntly then, who played hide and seek for a while, but agreed at last to help, and the rest of the winter passed in guerilla war.

It was gallant, more gallant than that of the brilliant year: but the spell had broken. In late April Montrose nearly took Inverness, and again Huntly failed him. By the end of May, his campaign was brought to an end, for other matters had happened in the South.

To make them clear, we must cast back to Naseby in June of the year before It had given the power in England to the New Model, headed by Cromwell, and broken the Royalists. Now the English anti-royalists were dividing. There were the Presbyterians, led by what was left of the Parliament; the Independents and other 'Sectaries,' led by Cromwell; and Leven's Scots army, much disliked by both, formed practically a third party. Charles began to see some hope in their dissensions, and a fresh element came into play, for Mazarin in France had no desire for either an English republic or an English kingdom which might resume the aggressive temper of the early years of the reign. He formed a policy of attempting to restore Charles as King, but a King controlled by France's old ally Scotland, and in August—that is, about the time of Kilsyth—sent Jean de Montreuil as envoy to the Scots Commissioners in London. Montreuil reported them as desiring peace, for the reason that while the war lasted they could not get England to pay them what she owed. In January of 1646 he tested Charles, and endeavoured a rapprochement between him and the Scots.

With all the tangled shifting of intrigue it is not needful here to deal in detail. The King was not unwilling to go some distance. He would not undertake a Presbyterian Establishment in England: he ‘ would sooner die in a ditch ’—and did die on a scaffold. But he would guarantee the already established church government in Scotland, would offer certain Irish lands as guarantee for the Scots army's pay, and would entrust his person to that army. Montreuil was alarmed, but through the early months of 1646 he carried on negotiations. Charles complicated them by various wild schemes on other lines, but none the less moved steadily nearer the Scots. They wished him to come. He was their sole guarantee for their arrears, and perhaps they hoped that he would take the Covenant at last. In March they gave a verbal guarantee of his safety, if he would sign the Covenant. Henrietta had begged him to do so, but he would not: ‘ consider that, if I should quit my conscience, I make myself unworthy of thy love.’

Spring wore through in intrigues. Montreuil must have been nearly driven mad, for Charles kept giving up the Scots in despair, and trying other lines; but he worked on loyally for an *entente*. It was in French interests, no doubt, that he wanted peace: but he *was* a Frenchman, and his patience, his refusal to throw up the sponge, command one's respect. The two sides came nearer and nearer, trying, as we should say now, for a formula. Charles went so far as to offer to be instructed in the tenets of Presbyterianism and to content the Presbyterians in anything not against his conscience. In April he was writing cheerfully, 'I shall be received by the Scots army as their natural sovereign, with freedom of my conscience and honour.'

Montreuil, it seems, was really promised these terms. Then the Covenanters recalled them at the last moment. Montreuil induced them at last to give a verbal undertaking that the King's person and honour should be secure, that he should not be pressed to act against his conscience, and that if the English Parliament refused him his just rights they would support him. But they would not consent to put these terms on paper.

Charles decided, none the less. On the 27th April, before dawn, he rode out of Oxford in disguise. On the 5th May he reached Leven's camp at Southwell, outside (the English) Newark: and Turner, who was present, describes what followed.

> There did the E. of Lothian, as President of the Committee, to his eternal reproach, imperiouslie require his majestie (before he had either drunk, refreshed, or reposed himselfe) to command my Lord Bellasis to deliver up Newarke to the Parliament's forces, to sign the Covenant . . . [to establish Presbyterianism in England and Ireland] . . . and to command James Graham (for so he called great Montrose) to lay down arms: all which the King stoutlie refused, telling him that he who made him ane Earle had made James Graham a marques. Barbarouslie used he was, strong guards put upon him and centinells at all his windows that he should cast over no letters.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRISONER KING

TWO AND A HALF YEARS: MAY 1646–JANUARY 1649

> That muddled sense of virtue, which . . . by securing neither the praise of heaven nor the respect of men, acts like a magnet to disaster.
>
> *Historic Haunts of Scotland.*

A WEEK later the King was borne to Newcastle. There he found himself a prisoner indeed. His own servants were removed: he was forced to attend public worship in the Presbyterian form, and not even permitted the use of his Prayer-book in private, while the ministers thundered at him as they chose.

The first use the Covenanters made of him was to induce him to call off Montrose. On the 19th May he wrote to him to disband. Montrose had the letter on the 31st, and in July met Middleton on Speyside, and arranged for terms. Middleton was a soldier, and not an extremist. His own sympathies were turning to the King, and he gave generous ones—a free pardon for all Royalists save Montrose, the Catholic Crawford, and Hurry, who had changed sides after Kilsyth. These had to leave the country by the 1st September, the Estates providing a ship. Forfeited lands were restored, except to the exiles.

On the 30th July, Montrose disbanded at Rattray, near Blairgowrie. The Estates were annoyed at the terms, and the ministers furious : they dared not repudiate them, but tried to trick Montrose into exceeding the days of grace, so that his life would be forfeit. They nearly did so, and he had to fly at last, disguised as Wishart's servant, in a Norwegian sloop. He found himself the hero of Europe. Mazarin offered to make him Marshal of France and Captain of the King's Guard, but he refused, so that he might be free if Scotland should need him.

Charles had accepted the military terms, but he could not the politico-religious. He offered to discuss the fundamentals. It is usually assumed to be a mere excuse for driving time, but Charles was not his father's son for nothing, and he probably hoped at least to make his opponents see he had a case. Henderson was given the task of debating with him. Charles wished for a divine to take his side, but was not allowed. The debate is a curious interlude of calm theoretics among the violent action of the time : it was conducted on paper, ably on both sides, and both show the dignity and courtesy that count in their most attractive characteristics.[1]

Charles was not converted, and the general situation grew still more tense as hostility increased between the English Covenanters and the Independents, who were coming to be a sort of Republican National Party. In mid-June, Argyle went to London, and there addressed the Parliamentary Committee, attempting to conciliate both divisions, by declaring that it was well for Scotland and England to be 'altogether one,' that the Presbyterians wished to avoid 'a lawless liberty in religion' and the Independents 'the persecution of peaceable men, who cannot, through scruples of conscience, come up in all things to the common rule.' These phrases sound admirable: but as he also refused anything 'contrary and destructive to our Covenant,' we are forced to translate the first two as meaning opposition to anything not in the Covenant, while the third (which was flatly inconsistent with that document) certainly meant that though Presbyterians might—perhaps—tolerate Independents, neither Episcopalians nor Catholics could hope for any sort of freedom of conscience. He then accepted the 'Propositions' of Parliament—that the King must take the Covenant (i.e., force Presbyterianism on England) surrender control of the militia for twenty years, and permit the proscription of his chief followers.

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[1] Henderson, still respected but more or less shelved, died shortly thereafter, and the Assembly of 1648 had formally to deny a rumour that he repented of having acted against the King.

On the 24th July these terms were put to the King. He tried desperately to delay an answer, attempting to win French help, and to get back to London. He bade Montrose stay in Scotland—an order that was nearly Montrose's death. It was not only the King who was alarmed. The Independents saw that if Charles accepted the ultimatum, they would be delivered over to the Presbyterians. The increasing dissidence of his adversaries roused hope in the King. He put off an answer, hoping for a quarrel.

By mid-August it had come, between the English Presbyterians and their Scots co-religionists. The Scots wished to withdraw their army, for the Assembly feared a Royalist rising, motivated by 'false glosses' on the Covenant, which should press 'the defence of the King's person.' Only atheists would violate the Covenant, in whole or in part.[1] Charles must not come to Scotland uncovenanted.

Charles would not go to Scotland covenanted. Hamilton begged the Estates to give him shelter, and Argyle and the preachers opposed, the latter claiming that they 'must be hard [heard] in all things which concerne the meaning of the Covenant.' And in September the English Parliament claimed to dispose of the King's person so long as he was in England. It was the Independent vote that passed this, and it made a grave dilemma for his hosts.

Montreuil's despatch of the 4th October sums up the situation.

> Les Ecossois se trouvent reduits ou à commettre cette insigne lâcheté de livrer leur roi contre la parole qu'ils ont donnée ou à se voir sur les bras toute l'armée des Indépendents.[2]

The issue was no longer whether to take the King across the Border covenanted or uncovenanted, but whether to take him at all. To take him uncovenanted meant a royalist rising: Montrose was still at large, and even their own party had been stirred by the King's humiliation to an increase of monarchical feeling. To take him covenanted meant fighting the New Model Army . . . and also losing all the money owing to the party, and to Argyle. There was considerable anxiety over this, and the question was gone into. The Covenanters stated their costs in the English war at near two million. The English Parliament computed that they had received a million and a half. The Covenanters then asked for £600,000, and were awarded £400,000, £200,000 to be cash down.[1] This last was paid: the balance never was. Thirty-six carts of specie arrived in the Scots camp on the 3rd February 1647.

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[1] See Clause III of that document.

[2] 'The Scots find themselves reduced either to commit the spectacular baseness of surrendering their King against the pledge they have given, or to find the whole Independent army [Cromwell's New Model] on their hands.'

On the same day, King Charles was handed over, at Newcastle, to the Commissioners of the English Parliament. It is true that these promised him safety. It is true that the surrender had other reasons besides the receipt of the money: the Covenanters, in fact, had sold their King less for cash down than for the more respectable motive of securing the power to do the very thing for whose attempting, ten years before this time, they themselves had risen first in arms against him. But those thirty-six carts creaked in the ears of Europe, and Scotland became a hissing and a derision, that sounds in the popular songs of England and France.

The Covenanting Army marched home beside the carts, and were disbanded, save for a few New Model regiments, about 7000 in all. There was a sultry spring. It was nine years now since the National Covenant: men's minds had had time to consider its results, and the surrender brought a good deal of tangled feeling to a head. For the fourth time, a regnant King of Scots was prisoner in England . . . not now by chance of war. The surrender rankled. The ministers had appealed to national feeling against the King: now it rose for him, threatening themselves. Even in the very Assembly, men spoke for him—not only Moderates like Colvile (and he lost the Moderatorship by only four votes), but Calderwood, a Presbyterian of the old rock. They worked off their emotions in words, however, denouncing the Independents as worse than the Pope, and declaring that what is called liberty of conscience

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[1] Argyle was awarded £35,000 of it, but it is uncertain if he ever got it.

> is Liberty of Errour, Scandall, Schism, Heresie, dishonouring God, opposing the Truth, hindering Reformation, and seducing others.

They also passed an act to compel attendance at public worship, and on the 27th August 1647, a cardinal date in the history of the Established Church of Scotland, concluded a most important piece of business, the acceptance of the new Confession of Faith drawn up at Westminster as the common confession of the United Kingdoms: it remains to this day the central formulary of all the Scottish and English Presbyterians, and is secured, for the Establishment, by the Church of Scotland Act of 1921. It is much more strictly Calvinist than the original Confession of 1560 (q.v., *The Scotland of Queen Mary*, p. 108), and points with an immediate practical interest were the statement that the civil magistrate

> hath authority and it is his duty to take order, that unity and peace be preserved in the church, that the truth of God be kept pure and entire, that all blasphemies and heresies be suppressed, all corruptions and abuses in worship and discipline prevented or reformed, and all the ordinances of God duly settled, administered, and observed. For the better effecting which he hath power to call synods, to be present at them, and to provide that whatsoever is transacted in them be according to the mind of God

(which was just what Charles had been deposed for attempting) and the declaration, in the 30th chapter, that

> to the officers of the church [i.e., ministers and elders] the keys of the kingdom of heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom against the impenitent . . . and to open it unto penitent sinners,

which is a little difficult logically to reconcile with the principles of absolutely pre-ordained salvation and damnation set out most lucidly and categorically in the 3rd chapter, but had obvious practical value at the time.

Another great document also appears then, the Metrical Version of the Psalms drawn up by Thomas Rous, a Cornishman, Provost of Eton, and a member of the English Parliament. For some reason its acceptance was less meek—chiefly, however, because he would use metres that did not go with the familiar tunes. Certain modifications were therefore made :

the current version, however, is mainly Rous's, though few Scots, one imagines, have heard his name.[1]

Before the Confession and Psalms had reached Scotland, however, affairs in England were moving, and rapidly. In June the Independents achieved a *coup d'état.* Cornet Joyce kidnapped the King at Holmby, and made him prisoner no longer of Parliament but of the New Model Army, three-fourths of whose officers were Cromwell's men. At a stroke, English Presbyterianism was put out of action as a political force. England had now a straight fight between the almost powerless Royalists and the extremely powerful Independents. So far the latter had been always 'in opposition,' first alongside and then against the Presbyterians. They now acquired a positive platform, and proceeded to form a counter-Covenant, the Solemn Engagement (not to be confused with the later, Scots, Engagement) to defend the peace of the kingdom and the liberty of the subject (*scilicet*, of the subject who held the right opinions). The Army purged itself of Presbyterian officers, and the Covenant was no longer to be compulsory : 'tender consciences' were allowed freedom to worship in their own way, provided it was not Romanist or Episcopalian.

This open supremacy of the New Model caused alarm in Scotland. A Scots army had entered England on a religious crusade: an English one might conceivably do as much in Scotland—and in fact, though not till somewhat later, it did. In October 1647 the apprehension crystallised into action. Hamilton was free once more. He returned to Scotland, and he and his brother Lanark attempted to form a new party from among those Covenanters who feared the ' bloody and blasphemous Sectaries, ' and to induce the King to assume its headship, by allowing a non-compulsory Covenant and establishing Presbyterianism and the Directory of Public Worship for a trial period of three years, after which the two Parliaments should debate their continuance. The King and the royal household should have liberty of worship, though the long list of sects to be suppressed includes that Arminianism to which he was thirled. If Charles should accept these terms, the Scots were to insist that he should go free to London, and if this were refused, to free him by force of arms.

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[1] Most of the fine tunes which went to Rous's words were either English or Genevan-French, though the noble *Dunfermline* seems to be an exception, and *Coleshill*—a lovely thing—may be another. Later on various Scots ones were to be added, of which several, such as *Martyrdom* and *Kilmarnock*, are of great beauty : both these are of the nineteenth century, when there was a notable revival of psalmody.

It was Charles's death-warrant. The Independents were alarmed at the prospect of a Scottish war, and clamoured for his execution. In November he escaped, and fled to the Isle of Wight. The flight put an end to any prospect of his being used as a figure-head of the Independents, and induced their leaders to agree to his death. Four bills were presented to the English Parliament, taking away his right of veto and his control of the Army. He was already virtually deposed, and this was an open recognition of the fact. He turned to the Scots, and got into communication with their Commissioners in London. Loudoun, Lauderdale, and Lanark came to him at Carisbrooke. On the 24th December he rejected the Four Bills, and on the 26th he signed with the Scots Commissioners an 'Engagement' embodying Hamilton's proposals.

To make the fact public just then would have brought the New Model Army straight on Scotland. The treaty, wrapped in lead, was therefore buried in the castle garden, and the Commissioners went home to announce that if the King of Scots was a prisoner in England, he was now at least a half-covenanted King.

On the 10th February they presented their report to the Committee of Estates. Lauderdale spoke on English hostility to the Covenant, Presbyterianism, Monarchy, and Scotland, and demanded a war against the Independents. There was much feeling, violent but confused. The ministers were hot against the Independents, but would not fight side by side with Amalekites (i.e., Episcopalians) whereat several of their supporters rebelled, and openly said that they regretted the Bishops.

On the 3rd March the Estates met: and they rose in revolt against their masters. Nearly fifty peers were present, and gave almost a five to one majority for the Engagement,[1] while more than half the lairds and nearly half the burgesses voted for it, including members from Edinburgh and Dundee as well as from

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[1] The chief peers who opposed were Argyle, Lothian, and Balmerino, with Loudoun and Balcarres uncertain.

Perth, St Andrews, and Aberdeen. The ministers were appalled. The Assembly's Commissioners emitted a declaration against the Engagement, and had it circulated to all churches, to be read out by the minister under pain of deposition. Yet even in the clerical ranks there was revolt : no less a minister than Baillie, who was a Commissioner to the Westminster Assembly, grumbled, though not in public, about 'papa-caesarism.' Even Argyle was somehow embroiled in a duel, and almost had to fight it, though a cold March morning on Musselburgh Sands prevented him from removing coat and boots till intervention arrived and he was rescued.

Preparations were made for serious action. The Engagers were in touch with the Queen and the young Prince of Wales in France. Montrose offered himself, and Hamilton made Henrietta refuse. None the less, Montrose attempted to secure French help, and getting none, went in March to the Emperor at Prague, who made him a Marshal of the Empire and gave him permission to raise troops. The likeliest place was the Netherlands, but with the Thirty Years War still in progress, it was August before he could get there, and when he did, he found that Condé, on the 10th of the month, had scattered the Imperial troops at Lens.

In any case, he would have been too late. Five days after Lens, the Engagers had shot their bolt. They had made a real effort, but so mishandled the business that no more was effected than a waste of lives and the obliteration of Hamilton—which, to be sure, was a definite gain to his party. On the 11th April the Estates had sent a sort of ultimatum to the English Parliament, demanding Charles's release, the disbandment of the Army, the establishment of Presbyterianism, and by way of encouraging English Royalist feeling, the suppression of the Prayer-book. In May they began to levy troops: the ministers had preached according to the orders of the Assembly, and there was a serious mutiny at Glasgow, suppressed by Turner.[1] Two thousand Covenanters of Clydesdale, Kyle, and Cunningham also assembled in arms at Mauchline, and had to be dispersed in a sharp action, in which Middleton and Hurry both were wounded. One observes that the leadership of the Extreme Left was passing now from Fife to the South-west, where it was to remain. On the 10th of June, the Estates adjourned, having five days earlier told the ministers that they laid

> a heavie yoke on the consciences of their brethren who in conscience of their dutie finds themselves obliged to give obedience to the lawes of the Kingdom, and also usurp a power upon themselves to be judges of the lawes and of the proceedings of Parliament.

On the 8th of July, Hamilton crossed the Border at the head of the Engagers' forces, and Lanark was left to deal with the mutinous Westlands.

The start of the campaign was not propitious. As Turner puts it,

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[1] He records that they wanted ' King Christ and the kingdom of Christ, thereby meaning the uncontroullable and unlimited dominion of the then Kirk of Scotland, to whom they thought our Saviour had delivered over his scepter.'

> the halfe of our forces in Scotland [were] unleavied, and ane enemie behind our hand, ourselfs in a very bad condition, without money, meale, artillerie, or amunition.

The weather was vile, and the enemy behind included not only the Westland Protesters, as they were now called, but the Assembly, which met on the 12th, and was extremely busy. From its spiritual pastors at Westminster it now accepted two famous documents, the Longer and the Shorter Catechisms, which were the Confession put in question and answer. There was some objection to the latter, as difficult for children: but they had no leisure to debate such matters, though they did make time to enact that all students must take the Covenant on matriculation, and that every elder was to have certain bounds assigned him, within which he must report on 'scandalls and abuses,' being specially vigilant to see what his flock did on Sundays out of Church. 'Pleading for toleration to themselves or others,' is strongly censured, and so are conventicles. Their chief business, however, was to denounce the Engagement, as liable to bring on 'the wrath of God and censure of the Kirk,' to demand a fresh ban on any association with either the Popish, Prelatical and Malignant party or the blasphemous Sectaries, and to declare that the King's concessions were inadequate. Before there was any move for a Restoration, the King must take the full Covenant, and the defence of the veto must not be supported. On the 3rd August they passed an act compelling all ministers, under pain of deposition, to preach against defection from the Covenant, and against Engagers, Malignants, and Erastians, all three being now more or less equivalent terms. All who railed at, mocked, or threatened such preachers should be excommunicated, and solidarity was ensured by proceedings against certain ministers. Andrew Ramsay, Moderator of the Assembly that had purged Aberdeen eight years before, was suspended for supporting the Engagement, and so was another prominent man, Colvile, merely for not having preached against it, while the synods went on to suspend or depose all who were 'sparing, generall, or ambiguous' on the subject, with the warning that if they still attempted to exercise their ministry or draw their stipends, they would be excommunicated. Finally, on the 12th August, they sent to Charles a Humble Supplication, a long and rather masterly piece of invective, denouncing King and Estates for shedding innocent blood. It was a significant gesture. In the past ten years the Assembly and their subordinate allies the Estates had overthrown the King and established Presbyterianism and the two Covenants. Now the Assembly threw over the Estates, as their predecessors had done Elizabeth in 1596.

With this behind, the luckless Hamilton marched, making for London through abominable weather, content that it was he, not the hated Montrose, who should reap laurels. There was much reaping, but there were no laurels. The Prince of Wales was in the Channel with the fleet, which had declared for him, and the Lords, the Commons, and the City were at odds in London. But the English Royalists had wasted their strength through the summer in futile unco-ordinated risings, easily put down—in Wales in May, Kent in June, and Surrey in July : and Cromwell was marching north, and on the 13th August joined Lambert at Knaresborough. Turner had wanted Hamilton to march through Yorkshire, over open moor, congenial terrain for horse and pikemen. Hamilton insisted on going by Kendal, through a country of stone-walled fields, most hampering to both. Cromwell left his guns, cut across, and held the Ribble.

There was a tangle of discussion and misdirection. The northern English Royalists under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, were cut off, and on the 17th Cromwell broke the main force at Preston. Hamilton did a little to redeem himself by personal valour, but the whole business was a squalid mess. On the 25th what was left was finished off at Uttoxeter in Staffordshire, and Hamilton surrendered, to lose his head in London the next year.

The Engagement was done for, and the ministers' party, the Protesters, could triumph . . . at the hands of an ally who was to shatter their power. They explained their triumph to their congregations. Loudoun turned back to the side of his chief Argyle, and a new word comes into history. With Eglinton he raised the South-west again, and with a force of what their unfriends described as Whiggamores,[1] occupied Edinburgh on the 5th September, while Argyle raised what Inverlochy had left of the Campbells.

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[1] Variously derived, by Macaulay from *whig* = whey, and by Burnet, much nearer the time, from *whiggam*, a Westland carter's cry to his horses ; there is perhaps a derisive echo of Maccallummore, Mac Cailein Mòr, the Gaelic title of Argyle.

The Committee of Estates—that is, the chiefs of the Engager party—dared not attack them, for fear of drawing Cromwell. Lanark, who now his brother was removed was the next thing to a leader they had left, desired to call in Monroe, the leader of the Scots in Ireland (who should have joined Hamilton, but was too late) and get him to seize Stirling and Perth and raise the clans for spring. His associates refused, threw over the English Royalists they had tempted out, and declined to move. There was, however, a small action near Stirling, against Argyle, who for the third time in his career remembered the galley in his coat of arms, and departed by boat, leaving his Campbells to be cut up behind him. In spite of this, the Committee, before the end of September, had given in. The laymen of the anti-Engager or Protester party, headed by Argyle, appointed themselves in their place, and saw that the general body of the Estates was not to meet before the next January. Civil control was thus in their hands until then . . . if they could keep the Engagers down and the Assembly quiet.

The latter was the less easy, and they nearly precipitated a split at once, by sending envoys to Cromwell and the English Parliament, assuring them of their support and denouncing Hamilton and the Engagement. Cromwell, in fact, was invited to come north, and accepted, reaching Edinburgh on the 4th October, where he dined with Argyle and Warriston, and revealed an emotional but unorthodox piety that caused good Mr Blair to call him ‘a greeting deevil.’ He demanded that all Engagers should be permanently excluded from office, and this being gladly conceded, departed after three days, leaving Lambert and a couple of regiments of cavalry at the disposal of the Protester Committee. By way of what we should nowadays call a roofer he also gave a present to Eglinton’s son—2000 of the prisoners of Preston, to be sold as recruits to (Catholic) Spain or France. Unfortunately, both declined to buy.

There was cause for anxiety still, for Montrose was at large yet. Having failed to raise troops, he tried to join hands with Prince Rupert. The King’s cause, however, was now very nearly hopeless: in December Montrose wrote to Rupert, saying that he was returning again to the Emperor, but that they might still ‘have a handsome push for it . . . and eather win it or be sure to lose it fairly,’ and that he would still ‘abandon all fortunes and advantages in this world, and rather hazard to sink by you nor save myself asyde of all others.’ It was no bombast: he was thirty-six then, with the career before him open to a man who at that age was a Marshal of the Empire, acknowledged as one of the finest soldiers in Europe in the time that bred Gustavus, Turenne, and Condé: and in little more than a year after that letter he was to do precisely what he had said. Argyle knew him: the King’s cause might have gone down, but it was not dead while Montrose should be alive. He found a convenient tool to his purpose in Lanark, who in December had renounced the Engagement. Lanark was threatened ostentatiously with arrest, and allowed to escape to the Prince of Wales, where he could be relied on, officially to induce the Prince to take the Covenant, unofficially to see that he cold-shouldered Montrose.

By winter, the Protesters were firm in the saddle. So, across the Border, was Cromwell. On the 5th of December, the English Presbyterians had made their last throw, Parliament resolving by 129 votes to 83 to negotiate once more with the prisoner King. Cromwell took up the glove. On the 7th Colonel Pride entered the House, and arrested, not five members now but fifty, and excluded some hundred. Pride's Purge left a ' Rump ' of some sixty Independents, who acted now as the English Government.

On the 4th January 1649 the Estates met. They also had been purged, for the lairds and burgesses had been elected on conditions ensuring that none of them were either Royalists or Engagers : and instead of the fifty-six peers of the March meeting, there were only sixteen. Next day they had word of Pride's Purge, and that the Army leaders had caused the Rump to vote it high treason for a King of England to go to war against his Parliament ; and a court had been appointed to try Charles for this. (The few peers had protested, whereon the Lower House declared that themselves alone had authority.) The trial was for the 20th January, and the Scots Commissioners to London demanded instructions.

They received fourteen articles, which must have puzzled them considerably. They were still to insist (to the Rump) on the Covenant, and No Toleration for any but Presbyterians, but must do only such things as

> may give no offence to the godly ministry and partie And as may eschew present quarrels and differences . . . Doe nothing to justifie the King's proceedings . . . not Craving his majesties restitution to his governament . . . not impose a breach or give ane just ground of a new warre.

In view, however, of the King's handing-over, at which the popular feeling might blaze up if he should lose his life in consequence,

> Yee shall presse with all possible earnestnes a delay of all proceedings aganst the King's persone till this kingdome be acquainted . . .
>
> If this is refused yee shall enter and declare your Dissent from thair pronouncing sentence aganst the King's Lyffe.

They were to protest that Scotland was free from it, and if the Rump should insist on a court martial, the Commissioners must

> remonstrat all the Dangerous consequences of suche as unheard of preparative and the strange procedour of ane army by becomeing both accuser Judge and executioner of their King,

since the Newcastle surrender would in that case be ' heavy to their spirits.' Finally, they are bidden to ' prosequute your former Instructions . . . and especiallie those aganst tolleratioun.' No one could have expected such a line, or tangle, of conduct could effect much, but even so Argyle and Warriston tried to delay the instructions for some days more, for the sake of prefacing them by a solemn fast. But the King of Scots was close to an English block, and even the Protesters declined the delay.

Of course the intervention was useless, as it was meant to be. Charles was tried, by a frankly illegal court of 150 members, of whom about eighty were absent. The trial, in fact, was a farce : but the army saw that it was carried to serious issues. Cromwell's Pretorians were in control of England. A brave Scotswoman, Lady de Lille, who protested that the trial was illegal was branded upon the forehead there and then . . . which did not hinder Lady Fairfax from following her example, and protesting also, though with impunity. On the 27th the King was sentenced to death.

On the 23rd, the Estates, recovered from their sentimental regret, saw to Charles's followers, by an Act of Classes, for 'removing the Judgement of God' by purging all places of public trust, from the Officers of State down to Town Councillors and Deacons of Crafts. It defined four categories of persons. (1) All who had acted in favour of 'the late unlawfull engadgement' or in 'the horrid rebellioun of James Graham'; (2) All those 'formerlie[1] classed or censured for malignancie' who favoured the Engagement, petitioned Parliament in its favour, protested against the Kirk's declaration against it in kirk sessions, or induced others to sign such petitions; (3) any public official who did not oppose the Engagement or who had opposed the desires of any petition from the Kirk's judicatories against the Engagement; (4) all officials given to

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[1] There had been a similarly conceived but less sweeping act in January 1646, against Montrose's supporters.

> uncleannesse brybery swearing Drunkennesse or deceiving or are otherwise openlie profane or grosslie scandalous in their conversatioun [a clause which included the holding of wrong political or religious opinions] or who neglect the worship of God in their families.

Of these four, all officials were to be deposed, and their places filled with those free of their faults, ‘ who have given reall prooff of their affectioun constantlie to the Caus and a good Conversatioun.’ Anyone who took on office after removal was to lose moveables and life-rent, be imprisoned, and be barred forever from ‘ the meanest public trust.’ All the first class are thus excluded for life. The second were excluded for ten years, the third for five, the fourth for a year : but all these latter, before the ostracisation is lifted, must give

> sufficient evidence of thair change of thair malignant principles and practises and of thair firm resolutioun and affectioun to promove the ends of the Covenant.

A week after the whole administration had thus been secured to carefully selected members of the Party, the last King to be born on Scottish soil died on the scaffold, very near where the Whitehall Cenotaph stands today. He died a martyr, having caused many martyrdoms to others, on both his own side and that opposed to him. The blame is not all his, but his in part, and for Scotland especially a central part. He had wrecked a cause which without his impulsive haste was slowly but very steadily gaining ground. He cared for it more than for anything in the world, died for it at last, and knew before he died he had brought it to ruin, apparently for ever. That, far more than the petty insults of the soldiers who blew in his face the tobacco smoke he hated, far more than his lawless trial, or than the axe, may set him beyond more sentence. He went to his death on that grey day of snow, knowing that all he loved had gone down in ruin, that the wife and children he loved devotedly were penniless exiles or in his enemies' hands : and

> nothing in his life
> Became him like the leaving it.

So the White King passed to Windsor with snow on his pall, and the people of London went to their homes in silence.

CHAPTER VII

A KING IN ISRAEL

TWO YEARS AND EIGHT MONTHS: JANUARY 1649–SEPTEMBER 1651

> The same arts that did gain
> A power, must it maintain.
> Andrew Marvell, *A Horatian Ode.*

SCOTLAND had known that the King would surely die. There had been no real effort to prevent it, but the death, none the less, was a shock to national feeling: and now Scotland seemed likely, without any ‘ by your leave,’ to be attached to the rim of an English republic. There was a sudden surge of nationalism, and six days after Charles's execution, there were drums and trumpets at Edinburgh Cross, and his son was proclaimed Charles II of Great Britain . . . while in England the Rump voted monarchy abolished, the House of Lords too as useless and dangerous ; gave the government to a Council of Thirty-eight, with Bradshaw the regicide as President and Milton as its Foreign Secretary ; while Cromwell, made also Lord Deputy of Ireland, was given control of the Army along with Fairfax, and a new Great Seal bore the date ‘ The first year of Freedom.’

The new King had never seen the kingdom that now proclaimed him. He had been but three years old when his father was crowned there. As a boy he had shared the first campaigns in England, but in March 1646, being then fifteen, had been sent abroad to seek the help of France, and not been allowed to return. He was now a very tall lad of eighteen, lean, dark, of an attractive ugliness, and very much more the grandson of Henri IV than the son of Charles I. He had the vitality of the Old Stewarts, of Henri, the charm of both, the humour that his earnest father lacked, a clear brain, interested in knowledge though rather scientific than scholarly or artistic, and an outlook on life already made cynical by a boyhood on the fringe of a losing war and in a little court of intriguing exiles, from which he had lately broken, freeing himself from his mother and her clique to take up his residence at the Hague with Hyde, the best brain of the men around him, a long-headed middle-aged lawyer, of a detached and prosaic loyalty. There, at the court of his brother-in-law William of Orange, he continued for the time being his mother's policy of keeping in touch with what was left of the Engagers : but he had more faith than she in Montrose, who two days before Charles I's death had written to him, ' I never had passion upon earth so strong as to do the King your father service,' and warned him ' If your Highness shall but vouchsafe a little faith unto your loyal servants, and stand at guard with others, your affairs can soon be whole.'

Charles's situation was not exhilarating. He was, by inheritance, King of three kingdoms. Scotland and Ireland accepted, England rejected him. Ireland, in arms under Ormonde, offered her services unconditionallyally, but was faced with the new Lord Deputy, Oliver Cromwell. In Scotland, two days after he was proclaimed, it was declared that he should not enter into royal power until, besides his coronation oath to extirpate heresy, he had sworn both Covenants and had agreed to accept in his own practice and establish, immutably, in all his kingdoms, all the formulae of the Westminster Assembly—the Westminster Confession, Presbyterian Government, and the Directory of Public Worship, and forsake all counsellors prejudicial to them.[1] A Commission of four, headed by Cassillis, took these conditions to the King in Holland.

The general situation was somewhat varied. Hamilton had lost a not very useful head. Huntly's was soon to follow. Aboyne was dying in exile. The Gordon lands were now held by Lord Lewis, who was soon to make his peace with his uncle Argyle. On the other hand, the King's death had finally settled Seaforth's doubts: he had come down firmly now on the side to whose defeat they had contributed, and was in exile at the Hague, while his brother Pluscardine led a Highland rising in March, took Inverness, and along with Reay and the inveterately loyal Ogilvie was giving David Leslie serious trouble. There were, in fact, now, three principal factions in Scotland: the Protesters, an intransigent Left, whose lay head was Argyle, demanding nothing less than the whole Covenant for all three kingdoms and the dominance of government by the Assembly ; a Royalist Right, mainly Episcopalian but headed by Montrose, who desired the King to break cleanly with the Covenant and depend on the strengthening feeling for monarchy and nationalism ; and the Engagers, headed by Lanark, now Duke of Hamilton, who were rather a Moderate Left than a Centre Party, desiring the Covenant, but also some freedom for the civil power and a King as at least the nominal head of the State.

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[1] An act was also passed putting all ecclesiastical patronage into the hands of the Assembly: they allowed that a dissentient majority should have their opinion as to choice considered, if it were not grounded on ‘causeless prejudice.’ That of a minority would not be considered. A disaffected or Malignant (Episcopalian or Royalist) congregation had no right of protest, even from its majority.

Charles began by trusting Montrose, whom on the 22nd February he named Captain-general and Lieutenant-Governor. Late in March the Commissioners arrived, and proposed to 'espouse the King's cause if he first will espouse God's cause.' They spoke him fair, lamented his father's death as parricide, and presented the Westminster formulae, handsomely bound. Charles was in a dilemma. He could not have Scotland without the Covenant, or England with it : and he wanted both. He asked the opinion of the other parties. Montrose urged the offer of a constitutional monarchy for both kingdoms, each to settle its own State Establishment in religion, but with general toleration for other beliefs. The Engagers were less concerned with a positive policy than to go in all ways counter to Montrose.

While Cromwell, the key to the English situation, was absent in Ireland, the spring was wasted in tangled counter-scheming. Charles's candid aunt, Elizabeth of Bohemia, said curtly and truly, ' They are all mad, or worse.' Nothing definite was arrived at till mid-May : then, on the 21st, Charles gave his answer. So far as Scotland was concerned, he would accept the Covenant and Presbyterianism : but he would not enforce either on England or Ireland, unless with the consent of Parliament. The Commissioners refused the compromise, and returning home again, reported their failure.

The governing faction in Scotland were not pleased. They declared war on the Engagers. A vigorous party purge was applied to the clergy : in the two counties of Angus and Mearns alone (after eleven years of compulsory Covenant) eighteen ministers were deposed and five suspended, while touring commissions were sent to deal with the lukewarm who had been spared by their own presbyteries. In spite of this, the clearer heads, like Argyle, were growing aware that if they were to have both King and Covenant, it would be as well to win the Engagers' support against the certainly imminent trouble with England.

The summer wore through as vainly as the spring. Then in September Cromwell won a bloody victory at that Drogheda whose name is still a black word in Ireland, and with cause. In June Charles had given in to Montrose, and allowed him to prepare for a fresh rising. In September, Kinnoull landed in Orkney, and established a base. Montrose worked hard to raise men and money, and found them ill to come by. It was mid-

December before he was ready to sail. He actually embarked, at Gothenburg, on the 10th January, but day after day, until the beginning of March, foul winds and delayed despatches held him up: he had to sail without these last in the end, and they reached him on the 23rd March in Orkney—having been written in Jersey on the 12th January! One may guess at the nervous strain, for everyone, of the long blind delay in a Swedish winter.

The auspices were bad. Charles, under his mother's influence, was trying to avoid putting all his eggs in one basket, and did so by juggling them from one to the other, which is not the safest way of treating eggs. As early as September he had warned Montrose that he might be driven to that: now he bade him go forward, but spoke, none the less, of a treaty. It was not to damage Montrose's authority or safety: but the Lieutenant-governor's success would be an asset in bargaining, so that in any case he was to go on. And in fact, on the day before the letter was written, Charles had asked for the Commissioners to return.

They did so on the 25th March (it was now 1650) while Montrose was still in Orkney, preparing to cross. And the terms were no easier than before. Charles would have to do all he had refused already, enforce the Act of Classes, and withdraw all commissions not approved by the Government—i.e., in the first place, call off Montrose, while there seems to have been an unofficial offer of the hand of Argyle's daughter, Lady Anne. There was a weary bickering, five weeks long.

The envoys this time were much less respectful, and called Charles an idolator to his face: his kneeling at Communion would provoke God to blast all his designs. Still there was no news of Montrose. Five weeks of acrimonious dispute are a life-time at nineteen. Charles at last despaired, dragged from them a promise of safety for Montrose and his followers, and on the 1st May signed the draft agreement as his ticket to Scotland. On the 5th he wrote to Montrose to bid him disband.

He wrote too late. Montrose's force had been broken. About mid-April he crossed the Pentland Firth, and marched south by much the line of the Highland Railway, while the Covenant forces moved north to meet him under David Leslie. On the 27th they met at Carbisdale, near Bonar Bridge. As Lord Tweedsmuir says, 'it was Philiphaugh repeated.' The intelligence failed. There was a surprise and a rout of untrained troops: the eve of the day on which Charles signed the treaty saw Montrose a prisoner to Macleod of Assynt, with whom he had sought shelter. There is only one Highlander in all history who was known to betray a refugee for money. That man was Assynt. He never got the money. He was paid in meal, of which, by tradition, some two-thirds were sour. But he carried out his side of the dismal bargain, and the Covenanters got Montrose in their hands.

Three weeks thereafter he had finished his course. They took him slowly to Edinburgh, in a procession whose triumph was not theirs but that of a ragged prisoner, shaking with fever, his legs tied beneath the belly of an unsaddled shalt, led by a halter, while he 'with a majesty and state becoming him, kept his countenance high' when his enemies railed as he passed, and won the courtesy of their better men. A herald went on the road before him, proclaiming 'Here comes James Graham, a traitor to his country,' but his friends risked their lives and fortunes to do him honour, and Dundee, that his men had sacked, showed him noble kindness, exchanging his foul rags for befitting garments.

Such was the temper of all that episode. As he rode through the lengthening days of an East Coast spring, a commission sat to decide upon his fate. On the 17th May they presented their report. He need have no trial: he should be put to death with all ingenious ignominy, not merely the crude substitution of rope for steel. They arranged that the hangman should drive him through the town, he bonneted and the prisoner uncovered, his hands tied that he might not defend his face as the people stoned him. But they were baulked. He drove up the Canongate to the Tolbooth door 'like a conqueror going into a taken city,' and the close-ranked crowd looked on in sober silence, not lifting a hand to fling a single divot. He passed the stone balcony of Moray House, that hangs there still, projecting on its scrolls: there Argyle's son sat with his bride to see the show. Argyle stood behind. His eyes met the prisoner's: the men who stood for the two sides of Scotland confronted each other for a silent moment, and the victor slunk into the shadow, biting his hand.

Montrose passed 'the Ministers' Altar,' the tall gallows, and lay that night in the Tolbooth, under the ward of the warlock Major Weir. Next day was the Sabbath. For two nights and a day he bore with a smiling and humorous good breeding the thick tobacco smoke, that he loathed, of the guards, his fever, and the ministers' harrying. They were on him again before breakfast on the Monday: then he was allowed to dress (but not to shave, and the petty cruelty drew his sole flash of anger) and taken before the bar of the Parliament House. Standing there splendid in black and silver and scarlet, with the dark-red stubble marring his haggard face, he spoke to them the creed he had always held, and asked that he should be judged by 'the laws of God, the laws of Nature and nations, and the laws of the land,' for he had acted by their King's commission. But the laws of God were the laws of the Ministers' Altar, and the laws of the land were the laws of the God they preached. His sentence was read, he kneeling to receive it as was the form, and they sent him back to the Tolbooth for the night, where having prayed among the smoke of the guards, he lay and slept tranquilly; and on the morrow, the 21st of May, he rose and made himself ready like a bridegroom. The ministers saw he was baited while he dressed, and Warriston railed on him for combing his hair, and was told with a smile 'My head is still my own. Tonight it will be yours. Treat it then as you please.'

At two he was led out, up the steep broad street between the windowed houses, to the gallows between the Tolbooth and the Tron Kirk. Any criminal, going to death, might speak to the people. Montrose was not allowed that privilege. He took a brief and serene farewell of his friends : the crowd watched still and in silence below grey sky, and as he went up the ladder the sun burst through. They heard his last words, ‘ God have mercy on this afflicted land.’ Then the hangman did his work : there were tears on his face. A heavy sound of a sob came from the people. The Scotland of the Old Stewarts went to its death on that dark May afternoon in 1650.

For eleven years his head stood on a Tolbooth spike. His limbs went to the chief towns, his trunk to a grave beside the public gallows. So men had done to Wallace : but not Scotsmen. Both died for Scotland. Both failed in what they attempted. God send us to remember both in our time.

Twelve days after, on the 2nd June, Charles sailed from Holland, and just before sailing he had this as news, to serve as a prophecy of what lay before him. He went on, for there was nothing else to do now. The weak Hamilton was with him, the coarse Lauderdale, and the light Buckingham. On the 23rd he reached Speymouth, and before he could land was told he must take the Covenant, or turn back.

He was son of Charles I, but grandson of Henri IV.

Édimbourg valait une messe, apparently. It was the Covenants, or the heart-break of petty intrigue he had known, precociously, for eight years of fretting—not good years for a spirited, energetic boy. He chose the one large humiliation, and took them, hoping perhaps that if he could reach his subjects (and the Covenants were the barrier between) he might win a change. If so, he was soon disillusioned. They let him land. In Edinburgh, Montrose's half-withered head rose among the sound of bells and the light of torches, for the people remembered the Stewart kings, their friends. But already the ruling party had shown their mind. He was threatened at St Andrews, preached at at Falkland, six long political sermons in one day. On the 10th July his masters the Assembly met, deposed those northern ministers who had submitted to his Lieutenant-governor, and drew up a declaration for him to sign.

> Though his Matie. as a deutifull sone be oblidged to honor the memorie of his royall father and to haue in estimation the persone of his mother, yet doeth he desyre to be deeply humbled and afflicted becausse of his fathers opposition to the worke of God and to the solemne leauge and covenant, by which so much of the blood of the Lordes people hath beine shed . . . and for the idolatry of his mother.

It also expressed his intention of giving their just desires (i.e., the Covenants) to England and Ireland.

He refused to sign. Twelve days later Cromwell entered Scotland, with an army of 16,000 New Model troops, sending forward a messenger denouncing the Scots for trying to impose on England the dynasty themselves had repudiated, and claiming for England the right to choose her own government, which as every one knew, meant himself as a Dictator.

His victory would be an end of the Covenant cause. Its upholders prepared to oppose him. The army was moved, nominally under Leven, really under Leslie. Then the Kirk took a hand to secure the blessing of God. Charles was dismissed north of Forth as the chief Malignant, and for three days, with the enemy on Scots soil, the Army underwent a process of purging, clearing out all who had fought with Montrose or Hamilton, or who were deemed lukewarm—between three and four thousand. They were mostly experienced soldiers, to be sure, but to the civilians of all Left Wing Revolutions, a strict adherence to party formulae has always been felt to have magical effect, beyond such a detail as military training.

It was at this point, on the 3rd of August, that Cromwell wrote to the preachers a famous letter—' ridiculous and blasphemous ' they thought it. He told them plainly

> by your hard and subtle words you have begotten prejudice in those who do too much, in matters of conscience . . . depend on you . . . Your own guilt is too much for you to bear . . . Is it therefore infallibly agreeable to the word of God, all that you say?
>
> I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, think it possible that you may be mistaken . . . There may be a Covenant made with Death and Hell . . . I pray you to read the 28th of Esaiah from the 5th to the 15th.

But their Infallibility was a good deal less restricted than the Pope's. They were furious : and in order to make clear that Cromwell's invasion was not merely blasphemous sectarianism but treason as well, tried again to reconcile their god and their king. On the 13th August they prepared a fresh declaration, obediently ratified by the Committee: they disclaimed malignancy (i.e., royalism) and the guilt of the King and his house, and would only support him if he maintained the cause of God—i.e., signed the declaration quoted above. He was in their hands. Cromwell, who had killed his father, was advancing into his kingdom to conquer it. To act against Cromwell he had no other means than the army which had just been made unanimous with the ministers. On the 16th he signed the original declaration, saying he could not look his mother again in the face. It is not a wholesome feeling for a lad of twenty, the more when that mother has just lost by violence the husband whom both he and she have loved. Charles was to bear the mark of that surrender, and Scotland also.

Nor did it profit him. He was still kept out of control. Leslie, with the purged army, did his best. He knew he would have but little chance in a fight, and all through the latter part of August he carried on a pure campaign of manoeuvre, with very great skill, blocking Cromwell from Edinburgh and avoiding an action. Cromwell tried hard to force one, and failing, fell back towards England. On the 1st September, his force lay at Dunbar. Two days later, Leslie changed his plan, and attacked. It is said that the ministers had driven him to do so. This is not certain, but as so often in the campaigns of revolutionary governments, he had a committee of civilians with him, as a sort of senior staff. It is not clear if they dealt with strategy, but they certainly did so with personnel. The regimental officers had been imperfectly purged: they now got rid of a good many more, and imported new ones, who knew neither war nor their men, but, many being sons of the manse, had been bred to sound doctrine. Baillie declares they also hounded Leslie into throwing away a very strong position. Leslie himself does not say so: he blames his failure on bad discipline, which is something that one might expect in the circumstances, and certainly was present. He attacked at the dawn of a soaking September night, and the new officers, unused to the discomfort of the field, had taken cover and lost touch with their men. A well-conceived plan was most raggedly carried out, and next day Cromwell was writing cheerfully, 'it's probable the Kirk have done their doo.'

They had not quite, as yet. He was master of Edinburgh and Leith, where he sanctioned lay preaching, to their great disgust. They were much exercised over the defeat, and sought scapegoats. The King's Horse Guards had not been purged, and the neglect of family prayers by 'grate ones' and 'our neglect of the deuties of mutuall edificatione,' were other obvious reasons for the defeat. A suggestion was made that penitent Engagers might be re-employed: but this was sure to incur the wrath of God. On the 3rd October there was a further purge, of the King's Household. Next day

Charles fled, with seven men, from Perth, and tried to join the loyalists of the North. Buckingham betrayed him, and he was brought back next day by a troop of horse. The Start, however (as the ploy was called) alarmed his masters. They began to treat him with more consideration, and even passed an Act of Indemnity for the northern Loyalists. It helped to reconcile the Engagers, but as balance to the reunion it split the Party, for among the leaders were men whose hatred of kings was greater than their hatred of Independents. These were strong among the Whiggamores of the West, and on the 17th October they emerged as a new Left Party, the Remonstrants, so called from their Remonstrance presented to the Committee of Estates. They still acknowledged a theoretical duty to the King, but declared that it depended on conditions which he did not fulfil. They denounced all his actions, also the Treaty of Breda. He had now shown his true mind, favouring Amalek, therefore it was their duty to disown him, and come to terms with England, and all who supported him, or any of his proceedings, must be dismissed.

The Remonstrants naturally brought about a closer rapprochement between the monarchist section of their old party and the Engagers—the more as the North was up now, and Airlie's son had dealt forcibly with a regiment of Leslie's horse. A new Northern Engagement was being formed, and on the 24th October Middleton, on behalf of the men who favoured it, wrote to Leslie, 'We are Scotishmen, we desire to fight for our country; religion, King and country are at hazard.'

On the 4th November there was a formal concordat. The Engagers were indemnified, and politely agreed to 'satisfy' the Kirk. On the 26th the Estates at Perth passed a Resolution, condemning the Remonstrance as 'scandalous and injurious.' The old parties were now re-labelled, Engagers as Resolutioners and Protesters as Remonstrants.[1] The Resolutioner party now included men of various shades of religious feeling, united by a common intention to support nationality and monarchy: the Remonstrants or Protesters were unified in religion, actively against not only King Charles but monarchy as such, and indifferent on the subject of nationalism. Strachan, their military leader, now went over to Cromwell. They drew the fire of both sides. Cromwell sent a force against them because of their intransigent Covenantism, the Estates another because they were an active danger in their own rear. Cromwell's general, Lambert, broke them at Hamilton on the 1st of December. On the 24th Edinburgh Castle surrendered to him, and an English conquest of Scotland was imminent.

The prospect brought the more moderate of the ministers in alongside the Resolutioners, who were thus enabled, in the teeth of the Act of Classes, to raise a fresh army on terms of a very perfunctory expression of repentance for past differences. And as a gesture to unify national feeling, and after a fast for the sins of his family, Charles was crowned at Scone upon New Year's Day of 1651.

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[1] These two names are important for the following years: the latter party, however, are still often called Protesters, and the present writer prefers to keep that name, as being less confusing than two names beginning in *Re*—.

It was the last coronation there, or in Scotland, and it marks a turning-point with regard to kingship, for never after it was there even an attempt at the old intimate personal relation of King and people, as of a chief and his clan, until that spirit, if half-consciously, revived in George V. Argyle set on the Crown. The King took the Covenant, and there was much preaching: and Cromwell was master of the South of Scotland, and the King's subjects were at furious odds.

National feeling, however, had been stirred to attempt some transcendence of men's differences. It was time: Baillie describes the country in 1650:

> It cannot be denied that our miseries and dangers of ruine are greater nor for many ages have been; a potent victorious enemy master of our seas and for some good time of the best part of our land; our standing force against his imminent invasion few, weak, and inconsiderable; our Kirk, State, Army, full of divisions and jealousies; the body of the people besouth Forth spoyled and near starveing; they benorth Forth extreamlie ill-used by a handfull of our own . . . What the end of all shall be, the Lord knowes.

He, and a good many other men likewise, were less jocund than at Duns in 1639: but a Stewart was again the anointed sovereign, and the Auld Enemy was over the Border. Episcopalians and Catholics and a growing number of the Establishment found themselves uniting in a common purpose. When the Estates met in

March, Hamilton, against the opposition of Loudoun and Argyle, induced the Estates to restore the Engagers fully to the Army, and the King was allowed to 'take upon him [its] conduct.' Argyle and Loudoun worked hard for the Protesters, to whom the latter was definitely committed, but in June the Act of Classes was repealed, with—a highly significant point—the concurrence of the Assembly's Committee: and just after, Loudoun was 'procest for adulterie,' which if less serious an offence than the support of religious toleration, none the less weakened his influence with the precise.

Even the General Assembly felt the new movement, so strongly that the Protesters, led by Rutherford, attempted to prevent it from being held. It met, however, at St Andrews in mid-July, and there was 'greit heat and furie,' Cant condemning those who had concurred in the repeal of the Act of Classes. Then suddenly came hot news from the army. Leslie had been in the Torwood, covering Stirling, and trying to keep Cromwell from forcing a battle. Cromwell attempted to get round him by crossing the Forth, and on the 29th Lambert defeated a small Scots detachment, heavily, at Inverkeithing.[1] This cut Leslie's lines of communication with the North, and drove a wedge between him and the Northern Army under Middleton.

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[1] The later slogan of the Clan MacLean, *Fear eile airson Eachainn*, 'Another for Hector,' which replaced the older *Bàs no beatha*, 'Death or life,' derives from an episode of this fight. 500 MacLeans were present, and most of them died there, and with honour.

It skailed the Assembly, who adjourned to Dundee, and meeting there at midnight, continued their quarrel. Rutherford and his Protesters denounced the backsliding of their opponents, and promised

> judgementis aganis this Scottis army, and wald nat pray nather for the King nor the airmy.

But the Resolutioners, with Baillie as Moderator, carried the day, and enacted that the King's interest was to be owned by the Kirk, in subordination to God's: and three men were deposed, not now for being insufficiently extreme, but for being too much so. It marks a turning-point, and the first schism in Presbyterianism. It was a little under thirteen years since the major division of 1638.[1]

The next few weeks were lively with military action. Charles tried to clear Fife, failed, and decided to get behind Cromwell. On the 31st he marched, with Leslie and a small army, mainly Highland, to thrust at Carlisle. Cromwell took Perth two days later, and sent Monk to Stirling, and Lambert after the King. Both were successful. There was nothing to hold Monk: on the 28th he captured the Committee of Estates, and on the 1st September, his watch-word being ‘ God with us,’ he stormed Dundee and ‘ put all out of doors to the sword, both men and women,’ and the city was very comprehensively sacked : Lady Turner, as her anxious husband records, escaped the massacre but lost all she had except the clothes she was wearing.[1]

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[1] None of the three divisions was yet, however, regarded as a separate church. The Presbyterians had excommunicated the Episcopalians, but these had not excommunicated the Presbyterians. The present division of the Church of England into Anglo-Catholics and Evangelicals, who contradict a good many of each others' beliefs, often with heat, yet still remain within the same communion, is a closer parallel than anything in modern Scotland. The formal separation into recognisedly distinct communions does not come until after the Restoration.

On the very day after the sack, Cromwell’s ‘ crowning mercy ’ ruined Charles’s hopes. The attempt at diversion southwards had met with no luck. Charles had hoped for the English Royalists to join him, but in May an English traitor had enabled a projected rising to be crushed before it began : and those who still were in a position to rise recalled—small blame to them—their desertion by the Engagers three years before. Cromwell’s opponents of the English Left were also alienated by the fact that Charles had accepted recruits from the Lancashire Catholics.[2] A contingent of English did come out for him, but were defeated at Wigan on the 25th.

On the 22nd, Charles had reached Worcester with 16,000 men, mainly Scots. Cromwell marched on him there with 28,000. On the anniversary of Dunbar, his lucky day, the 3rd September, he fell on them in that pleasant orchard country, drove them into the city beneath the tall grey tower, and massacred them there. Some Catholic Royalists got the King away, and with the help of the brave girl Jane Lane, succeeded after some very wild adventures in smuggling him out of the country and safe abroad, to nine years more of shifting and penniless exile. As far as England went, the war was over. It was the last real battle in that country, unless one counts Sedgemoor and the street-fighting at Preston : not many countries in Europe can put their last experience of the sort so far away, and that England should have been able so to do was to affect her outlook in later times.

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[1] The city was a rich plum, as besides its own goods there was computed as being £200,000 of property from Edinburgh, sent there for an illusory safety. Nicoll in his Diary gives the slain at over a thousand men (presumably counting the garrison as well as civilians) and 140 women and children. His account is not an eye-witness’s, and this may be an exaggeration.

[2] It is Gardiner who remarks that Puritan governments ‘ had taken good care that Charles should be secure of the devotion of every Catholic in England.’

CHAPTER VIII

THE FRUITS OF THE REVOLUTION

SEVEN YEARS: SEPTEMBER 1651–SEPTEMBER 1658

> The French Revolution, that ye set out, as I have heard, with worshipping, has apostatised to such a degree that the question is no longer whether mankind are entitled to liberty . . . but whether they shall submit to a military despotism.
>
> John Galt, *Sir Andrew Wylie.*

For precisely seven years, to the very day, Cromwell was master now of both Scotland and England. All military resistance to him in England being over, his army there was now free to join Monk in Scotland: the Scots army was broken, the King in exile, the government prisoners, and any sort of nationally organised opposition was impossible. There was still sporadic resistance in the Highlands, and it took him three years' work to put them down. But by spring there was nothing that held for the King in the Lowlands except Dunnottar on its berg of cliff. There Ogilvie of Barras held the Honours—Crown, Sword and Sceptre—and many private papers of King Charles: and he, starved out, had to surrender on the 26th of May, though the Honours were saved and the royal papers too. Barras's young sister-in-law, Anne Lindsay of Cuichburnes, took the papers through the English lines, sewn in her dress, in terror lest they should rustle, and somehow the Regalia were got clear (although the stories vary somewhat) by Mrs Grainger, wife of the minister of Kinneff. She and her husband certainly hid them nine years, buried beneath the floor of the parish kirk.[1]

Scotland was left to Cromwell and the Protesters. Neither loved the other, but there was never much doubt as to which would win. Within a few weeks of Worcester, Monk (who by then had taken Stirling, with the Throne and the Public Records) had already forbidden the preachers to impose any oaths or covenants on the lieges, and prohibited civil penalties for excommunication—that is, he had forbidden the very aims and the major fruit of the entire revolution.

The Covenant was now the under-dog, or a limb of that animal at any rate. And the army of the English Independents, who now were masters, had no cause to love it. Cromwell's policy was soon made very clear, and it was nothing less than annexation. Nor can one call the attempt unjustified: it was certainly not unprovoked, at all events, and stands on a very different moral footing from those of Edward I, Edward III, and Henry VIII, and the less serious assaults between . . . although at the same time one must remember that the Scots had not, as is rather frequently said, attempted to force a Scots religion on England. Presbyterianism as such had been an English institution seven years before it was even proposed in Scotland: and all its formularies in both countries were now, and remain until this present day, those laid down in detail by its English supporters. What the predominant party in Scotland had done was to accept an invitation to take sides with their English co-religionists in an English civil war, and help the latter to force their common religion on England at large. Their joint party in both countries were the losers, and had done all they could to provoke reprisals, which as usual did not all fall upon themselves.

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[1] She says herself, 'The Crown and Sceptre . . . I brought with me on horseback, ryding always near to the sea along the top of high craigs, Resolving rather to lose my lyfe and throw them in the sea than that they should have taken them from me. . . . The sword came out in ane sackfull of hards upon my servant's back.'

In early December the Rump Parliament, which was Cromwell's mouthpiece, declared its purposes. 'To advance the power of true religion and holiness,' it resolved that Scotland 'shall and may be incorporated into and become one Commonwealth with . . . England, without King or House of Lords.' It confiscated all (Scots) Crown property and that of those who had taken the King's side in 1648 and 1651 and not since conformed, and attempted to sever the Highland clans from their chiefs by declaring them released from feudal service.

On the 15th January 1652 a body of eight English Commissioners, including Monk and Lambert, arrived at Dalkeith, and proceeded to act as a government, declaring invalid all authority derived from 'Charles Stewart who pretendeth himself King of Scots' (*Messire David de Bruys qui se dit Roy Descoce . . . Robertus de Brus se pro rege Scotiae gerens*) 'or any otherwise than from the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England.'

They then proclaimed the Parliament's decree of incorporation, and summoned the shires and burghs to send commissioners with their assent.

The result of the Three Hundred Years War had been reversed. Scotland was back to the state of 1296, with no leader but a cheerfully cynical lad of twenty-one, in exile, without an army or a penny. What he would have had to lead, if he had come home, was a jarring disunity of at least four factions . . . and he had seen the tenets of the strongest in operation and at very close quarters, and for the rest of his life was to consider that 'Presbyterianism was no religion for a gentleman.' England was led by Cromwell, a military genius of the first rank, who had trained an army worthy to serve with him: in the joint history of the two countries he had been in fact the greatest military organiser since Robert Bruce.

The shires and burghs sent up their men to Dalkeith, and were told that they had to assent by the 18th March, but could make suggestions with regard to such details as should make for 'speed and the best satisfaction of the people of Scotland.' They assented, by a large majority, the dissentients being not Royalists or Resolutioners, but the South-western Protesters or Whiggamores, who were troubled not by any national feeling but by the threat of religious toleration, for the Commissioners had by then announced that though Presbyterianism would be tolerated, it was in its turn to show equal toleration to those who 'worshipped God in a Gospel way'—that is, to all who were neither Catholics nor Episcopalians.[1] Such could not have been very numerous: but according to Glasgow at least the proposal involved 'a vast and boundless toleration of all sorts of error and heresy.' At the same time from the North there were complaints of

> the bloody and barbarous inconvenientis quhich hath alwayis accompaneyed the Presbyterial governament, by thair mixed autoritie with the civill power and tyranous persequuting of men's consciencis, quho out of tender scruples did discent from thair opinionis in materis indifferent and circumstanciall, or did refuis to sweir such doubtfull oathes as they understood not,

and that

> the greatest part of thair publict prayer and preaching did and doeth moir tend to the advancing of privat interest and factioun than to the propogating of the gospell.

Before the end of March, however, the Commissioners could report to Westminster that all was accepted, and advise that a Union Bill should forthwith be drafted, and a Scots Commission called to London to sign it. Their advice was taken: the resolution of the English government was proclaimed in Edinburgh on the 21st April, and an English looker-on at the proclamation was surprised to find the listeners 'so senseless of their own good as not to show any sign of rejoicing thereat.'

July saw a stormy General Assembly, whose main effect was to deepen the breach between the two Presbyterian parties. In August a Convention met at Dalkeith, and sent twenty-one Commissioners to London. They had supposed they had power to discuss terms of union: they found they were only required to assent to them. They struggled for some sort of proportionate representation, but were told they could only have thirty seats . . . and they did not get those, for before the matter was settled, Cromwell dissolved his ghost of a Parliament, and arranged a new one wholly controlled by the Army. It met in July, with 129 English members, six Irish, and five Scots: five of the Irish members were Englishmen, and four of the Scots were the nominated officials of a foreign military government.

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[1] They are catalogued as Independents, Brownists, Separatists, Sectaries, Cross-Covenanters, Anti-Covenanters, Old-Horns, New-Horns, Cross-Petitioners, Barbatarians, Quakers, and Anabaptists: some of these seem to overlap, but most, with considerable emphasis, did not.

In the month in which Parliament met, on the 29th, the General Assembly, that had governed Scotland from 1638 to 1651, perished abruptly. There were now two Assemblies, for the Protesters held one of their own, as being alone the True Kirk. An English officer, Colonel Cotterell, entered the main one as the roll was called, and demanded their authority. Dickson, the Moderator, thinking perhaps that this work did not gang bonnily, declared that they were an ecclesiastic court which meddled not with things civil, and their authority was from God Himself. Whereon Cotterell promptly and firmly turned them out, and then applied the same treatment to their rivals. It was just sixteen years since the alleged influence of an English bishop had been held a justification for civil war; now those who had been the leaders in that war went out at the bidding of an English soldier, and none of their constituents raised a hand. It was the end of the General Assembly, till the not very general one of 1690.

By the end of the year ‘ the little daft Parliament ’ had also vanished, resigning its powers entirely to Cromwell’s hands. Four days later came the Instrument of Government, which proclaimed a Protectorate and a Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It was not till the 12th of the following April, however, (1654), that the Council passed an Ordinance of Union, an elaborate document, which embodied St Andrew’s Cross in the public seals, abolished the monarchy and the Estates, settled the representation in the joint Parliament (400 English members and thirty apiece for Scotland and for Ireland, the franchise open to all with over £200 of property, unless they were Catholics or had fought for the King) established free trade as between the countries, abolished the feudal obligations, proposed proportional taxation, if not representation, and attached to the Protectorate all fines etc. that formerly went to the Crown. On the 14th May, the Ordinance, as accomplished fact, was proclaimed at the Market Cross of Edinburgh.

There was an attempt at revolt in the North, where Glengarry in fact had been out in 1652 and the Highlands were still under military occupation. Charles, in response to requests, sent Middleton over, and there was a sharp little war. Monk made a cordon along the Highland Line, and marched into the Highlands in the manner of an old-fashioned Border raid, carrying fire and sword and leaving the country ‘ unserviceable ’—i.e., stripped. By the end of July he had defeated Middleton at Dalnaspidal, and the rising was virtually at an end. Forts were established at strategic points, a vigorous system of military police was backed by one of bails, official passports, and permits for arms, and there were forfeitures and fines ranging from £15,000 to £3,000. One observes that Monk used Irish troops in the business.

The first Parliament of the Protectorate met on the 3rd September 1654, three years after Worcester and rather more than sixteen from the National Covenant: men who at the signing of that document had reached what then was military age were now no more than thirty-two. Of the thirty Scots seats, but twenty-two were filled, and they in the main by English officers or Scots officials of Cromwell's government. J. R. Green remarks that ‘ few Parliaments have been more truly representative of the English people.’ Cromwell hailed the assembly as ‘ the greatest occasion that England ever saw,’ and informed them that God and the people might bear witness that he had not called himself to the place of Protector. The Bill of Union was given one reading, which it passed. But Protector and Parliament were soon at odds. They deferred votes of money till government was settled, and so in January he dissolved them.

Four months later he set up a new machinery of government for Scotland, in the shape of a Council of State. Charles has been called a tyrant for doing so in

England with a Council of Englishmen. This had nine members, of whom two were Scots. They were to promote general peace and prosperity, take over the administration of justice and conform it to the English, and keep a firm hand on the disaffected. They did their work fairly and efficiently, restoring the Justices of the Peace, and securing the co-operation of the Kirk by descending upon open and scandalous sin, in return for which King Charles was not openly prayed for . . . except by periphrasis, for national feeling was steadily gaining ground, with a certain amount of assistance from Monk's soldiers, who had insisted on a national festival for their victories, with banqueting, salutes of cannon, fireworks, and parades, and a public holiday with all shops shut, and broke the spinning-wheels of recalcitrant women who insisted on treating it as a working day.

Still the Union, though in full practice, was unofficial. Another Parliament met at last, in September of 1656. The thirty ' Scots ' this time were all in their places. Most, as before, were English officers, and the rest haun' waled as ' honest and peaceable.' Even then the Bill took a certain effort to pass. England disliked the idea of Free Trade as much as she had done under James VI and I, and was to do under Anne. The Bill did pass at length, and after five years of argument (and enforcement) became law on the 28th April 1657 . . . and was modified almost at once, for the Humble Petition and Advice had revived a House of Lords, and Scotland was allowed four seats on it.

By the spring of 1657, therefore, the second Scots Revolution, that of the Covenants, may be considered as come to its final phase. The civil war was over now by three years, and the country, for six, had been settling to the new masters that were the most positive result of it. There were others, of course, and not only the things that are a commonplace of civil war—men dead, their wives widowed and children fatherless, and trade and agriculture severely damaged. Certain other things had been lost. The things of the mind had suffered heavily, most, perhaps, by the dragooning of intellect, the inculcation of hypocrisy, much also by the driving out of scholars, the narrowing, and shallowing, of the Universities, the placing of the whole primary education, through all these years, in the hands of the Kirk Sessions, intellectually controlled as has been described. The arts were at an end, save only that in the Highlands, out of reach of the Sessions, there was a notable outburst of Gaelic lyric, and that stout old Royalist, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, was at work on the last of the great Renaissance translations. Of the old courtly and scholarly literature, the last practitioner left had been Montrose, his last work the grim passionate lines on his last night of life. The popular had been almost choked by the ministers. It must have been surreptitiously handed down yet, in places out of reach: but there were no more great ballads. Fine scholars had died in poverty and exile: those of the reigning party, like Robert Baillie, were diverted from scholarship year after year. Scotland was definitely a less civilised country than she had been in the years of partial revival between about 1610 and the middle 'thirties—far less civilised than she had been in 1500. In 1630, too, she had been an equal member of a free federal union: in 1500 she had been an independent kingdom, a power in Europe. The sixteen-fifties saw her a conquered province, who had stood out against three centuries of assault, and beaten it off, again and again and again.

There was some memory of that last, at least. Less of the rest, in the younger generation. Men who were twenty-six or less at this time could remember no other régime than the kirk sessions: all men in the earlier end of middle age had reached maturity with these in power.

Cromwell's grip seemed firm, but there was a thing that could loose it. On the 3rd September 1658, in a wild autumn storm, the Protector died.

II

1658–89

The beginning of strife is as when one letteth out water.

Proverbs, xvii, 14.

CHAPTER IX

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

A YEAR AND NINE MONTHS : SEPTEMBER 1658–MAY 1660

> Mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
>   flumina praetereunt . . .
> Quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
>   tempora di superi?
>
> Horace, *Odes*, IV, vii.

CROMWELL was dead, and Cromwell was no king. He had been near it, so near he had borne a sceptre, so near his son's succession was recognised. But he was no king by law, nor his son by nature : the easy-going country gentleman who was hailed at first as Joshua after Moses, Elisha after Elijah, was soon Queen Dick, and in no long time thereafter, Tumble-down Dick. Richard Cromwell, Protector, summoned a Parliament, and as a matter of course issued writs for the thirty Scots members. But the Englishmen found even thirty were too much (there were more of them Scots this time, to be sure) and protested with fury at such a shocking flood of foreigners having a voice in English legislation : that four hundred Englishmen should make laws for Scotland was of course no more than was natural and right. There was another objection, less naive, in that they were virtually the Protectorate's nominees. ' Great noise and horrid confusion ' broke loose at once : then the noise stilled, and very suddenly, for the Army took hold of the Government once more. It had made a Protectorate, and now it smashed one. On the 22nd April, 1659, it dissolved the Parliament, and thereafter for a year was to rule England, for within a month the Protector had resigned and gone abroad, to return some years later and live on in England, dying, unremarked, so late as 1712, after another union had been completed.

The Protectorate died more quickly. On the 7th May the Army brought back the Rump, which promptly declared invalid all legislation since Cromwell had expelled it six years before. This meant, among other things, that all the elaborate legislative process for the union of the kingdoms was annulled. A Union Bill to replace it was proposed, and passed two readings: in July, however, the Independent congregations in Scotland petitioned that it might safeguard freedom of conscience (*sc.* of course, for anyone not Catholic or Episcopalian) and a storm of argument delayed the Bill, until its process was checked finally when the Rump itself was dissolved on the 13th October, by the Army who six months earlier had restored it, and the Government fell under the control of an officers' Committee of Public Safety.

Scotland looked on, held in firm control by Monk. If she had brought foreign rule upon herself, she had been fortunate in its quality. 'Honest George' was a good type of Southern Englishman, good-tempered, fair, and without being a genius, a politician of sound common-sense and an experienced and able soldier.

He did his work, putting down resistance with considerable brutality, but once peace was achieved governing justly, with toleration for everyone save of course Catholics and Episcopalians, and a preference in all things for moderation. Fanatics of all sorts slid off his cheerful surface, and his highly efficient army loved him, with cause.

Under his hand, there was reasonable peace. The majority of the parish ministers now—750 out of some 900—were Resolutioners, of an increasing moderation of views, an increasing desire for a King of Scots again. The Protesters were of the old pattern of the 'forties, intensely intolerant of all forms but their own, desiring the Covenant and the whole of it, and hating the thought of a King. For that last point the English Government preferred them. Monk, by temperament, preferred the Resolutioners, and tried, though without very notable success, to bring both to 'unity in things necessary, liberty in things unnecessary, and charity in all.'

Now, Monk was watching the English situation, and Monk, like Montrose, believed in liberty. There had been little of it under Cromwell, but Cromwell at any rate had been efficient. There would be less of it under a Committee formed of a handful of fanatic soldiers: and England had had enough of the Puritan rule that had hunted a cat with hounds through Lichfield Cathedral, sold the roofing lead of St Paul's for water-pipes, turned Winchcombe chancel into a slaughter-house, and while these things were done in sacred places, enforced in secular a Lenten rigour.

The dread of new military dictatorship brought together in a surprising coalition the English Presbyterians and the English Royalists, who demanded a free Parliament: and it was growing clearer with every week that a free Parliament would mean a King. Matters swung in the balance. Monk, looking on from Scotland, was head of a trained, compact, and devoted army. He made his mind up. One does not need to call him a self-seeker: he did not dislike that he and his Nan should profit by his actions, but there is every reason to believe he was doing what he considered best for the country. He called an emergency Convention in Edinburgh, and no doubt observed that one of the Presidents whom it elected was the Royalist Glencairn. Meeting them then, he told them he meant to assert the freedom of Parliament, guard the British nations from usurping tyrants (as the defenders of liberty now appeared) and establish 'a godly ministry.' They approved. He left the Scottish Government in their hands, and on the New Year's Day of 1660, crossed Tweed at Coldstream, the army at his back.

There had been vague risings in England. A somewhat vague Parliament met in December. With Monk's arrival matters ceased to be vague. Lambert, the head of the English Army, found his army melting. Fairfax joined with Monk. The Presbyterian M.P.s, expelled by Pryde in 1648, appeared and overwhelmed their Independent brethren. By the beginning of February, and without a war, Monk was master of London, the army, and the fleet.

In March, the Long Parliament, thus roused from hibernation, dissolved itself. Next month a Convention—that is, a self-called Parliament, without the royal or protectoral authority that there was no one to give—met at Westminster. At its fourth sitting it declared a return to the ancient constitution: the Union was definitely abolished thereby, the King recognised. Monk had already been in touch with Charles, and the general desire of the nation was very clear. On the 1st May an envoy from the King brought to the Commons a Declaration from Breda. He offered a general amnesty, the settlement by Parliament of the confusion of property due to confiscation and counter-confiscation, and the army's considerable arrears of pay: but the vital clause was

> a liberty to tender consciences and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom, and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of parliament as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

It seems that Charles would really have kept this clause had he been able: in England, however, his advisers prevented it from the first, in Scotland there was a real attempt to carry out its general intention, except towards Catholics . . . who had been consistently loyal to the Crown. Various reasons, however, which were not confined to any one of the parties, thwarted it. The attempt, none the less, was several times renewed, and was at last to bring down the Lennox Stewarts, as Mary's attempt at the same policy would have worked her ruin if Darnley had lived to old age.

The Declaration, however, was well received, as every man took it to mean what he wished—toleration or that freedom to persecute others with which then and now it is so often confounded. On the 8th May, Charles was proclaimed in London. On the 25th he landed at Dover, and on the 29th, his thirtieth birthday, he rode into London through wildly cheering crowds. He had been re-proclaimed in Edinburgh on the 14th, and with equal enthusiasm : the real Jenny Geddes had greeted the event by throwing her stool, not at the Lyon's head, but into a loyal bonfire at the Cross. But he did not, then or later, ride into that capital. The second Scottish Revolution was ended, the King of Scots was restored to his father's throne : but the King of Scots (and one can scarcely blame him) had no desire to set foot in his northern kingdom, that never saw a king again, as king, until George IV in 1822 appeared for a few days of loyal parties. And since, until James VI and including him, the Kings of Scots had almost without exception shown a sense of deep personal loyalty to their kingdom, the change marks a turning point in our history.

CHAPTER X

THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT

TWO YEARS AND TEN MONTHS : MAY 1660–MARCH 1663

> I remarked ' So the case has been settled, sir.' Hood promptly bit my head off. ' Settled! My dear boy, settled! ' he snapped. ' Don't talk such nonsense, I beg. How can it be settled when it has been decided against us ? '
>
> Humphrey Hugh Smith, *An Admiral never Forgets.*

In 1660, Scotland had seen four years of peace, and though the peace had been bought by humiliation, that very fact inclined men's passions to settle, made them look beyond words to the things that the words meant, and attain to a more sober state of mind. Seventeen years of intermittent civil conflict had done no good to culture, trade, or farming, and the whole country was desperately poor, the recovery of the 'twenties and the 'thirties undone. A new generation was growing up : men who were eighteen when the Covenant was signed were forty now, and inclined to be more sober : but also those others who were thirty or less had lived all the time they could with clearness remember in an atmosphere of bitter civil strife : those of twenty-two or less had been born in it.

The central fact, as at any time in the last century and a third, was the division of the religious parties. At one end there was the small body of Roman Catholics, whose own authorities reckoned them, ten years later, as some 14,000 in a population of about a million :

these were not to count as a political factor for another quarter-century or thereby. At the other, and counting very presently in politics, beyond proportion to their actual numbers, were the Presbyterian Extreme Left, the Protesters, who inherited without the smallest change the most intransigent spirit of the 'forties, and refused to be satisfied with anything less than the full enforcement of the Covenant. They numbered about 150 of the 900-odd ministers, but their lay support was confined almost wholly to the uneducated classes: their strength lay in their uncompromising creed—it is easier to hold firm to a negation—and in their geographical position, for they were compactly placed in the South-west, practically coinciding with the old Welsh-Celtic district of Strathclyde and the wild province of Galloway. A few were scattered through Fife, Edinburgh, and Lothian, but the South-east Lowlands generally, and all above Tay, were such Episcopalians as had held out, or Resolutioners—that is, men still conforming to Presbyterianism, but grown in the last decade or thereby definitely Royalist, increasingly nationalist, and many of them, especially benorth Tay, inclining, and sometimes very strongly inclining, to the ecclesiastical conditions prevailing before Charles I's unhappy intervention: that is, in order, to a sacramentally ordained episcopate, heading a structure organised, below the dioceses, in presbyteries; in doctrine, to something considerably removed from the Calvinism of the Westminster Confession; and in externals, to greater decency and courtesy and to a more congregational type of worship, while some frankly desired the return of the Liturgy. Many, perhaps most, were looking for a return to the conditions of 1630. They got it, in the main : they accepted it quietly, and generally with approval. For reasons that need not in this place be discussed, it is seldom remarked, though the point is of great importance, that while the religious conflict that now seemed concluded—that of 1637-56—had shaken Scotland from the Tweed to the Naver, that which marks the twenty-eight years from the Restoration hardly touched at all the country north of Tay, and its movement in arms is, except for rare incidents, confined to that west of the Annan and the Clyde, to whose influence, indeed, all the exceptions can be traced. It is perfectly just that a history of this time, even one on a much larger scale than this, should concentrate on the disturbances in the South-west. They are really its central factor. But to concentrate on them, as most historians do, without remarking that most parts of Scotland were affected only by their ultimate results, is to give to the time a wholly false perspective, and make inexplicable many things in the two generations that follow 1689.

In the previous volumes of this History the writer has regularly opened her account of a new reign by some sketch of the King's personality. Personality, being more picturesque than statistics, is somewhat suspect by those historians who appear to work on the firmly held conviction that nothing can be important unless it is what most men consider dull. None the less, a ruler's personality is as much a fact as any fiscal detail, and may be more important. In Scotland, it had been. It was indeed to be important now, but with negative rather than positive importance. Charles II was in many ways a Stewart. In native brains he threw back to the older house: though he cared less than most about art or letters, he had, like James IV, a real interest in science: like James IV and James V and his own younger brother, a real interest in what concerned the sea. He had quick wit and a cynical good nature, and alone of the Lennox Stewarts save his elder great-nephew, he had the Old Stewart combination of natural dignity with a frank allure, that wins men's liking: and unlike the rest of them, save again Charles Edward, he lacked the chilling touch of the pedant, the prig, that is more alienating than a vice. That was one side: the other side was Bourbon—still with Henri IV to leaven Louis XV (it is often forgotten that though no great commander, he showed courage and efficiency as a soldier) but Bourbon, slow to learn new things, forgetting . . . some things he should have recalled, but not forgetting the bitterness of a most demoralising youth, humiliated, forced into beggary and insincerity, harried through Europe as a penniless prince, and spending the most formative years of his life in a little out-at-elbows intriguing court, with nerves strained by over a decade of hope deferred and a general inability for action. At eighteen he had been a generous boy: at thirty he had no faith in men, women, or life, was lonely, witty, emptily unhappy, 'the Merry Monarch,' with no comfort but comfort, and holding firmly to a resolution that he would never 'go on his travels again.' And that Bourbon memory held his year in Scotland. This mattered to Scotland: her King washed his hands of her, and saw her as merely a source of possible danger.

In the gloomy tale of lost opportunity that is the record of the next thirty years, that fear is a cardinal factor. In Charles it bred a carelessness of the country. He was not cruel—far from it, both by nature and by the fact that he cared so little for most things. But the men who governed Scotland shared his fear, and he did nothing to relieve or check them, and none of them had the status of a king, or, as events were to prove, the power to be one.

It must be said they had excuse for fear. That the ghastly tyranny of the sixteen-forties should grow up again was a nightmare, and well might be. Any threat of it, any likeness to its beginnings (and any man over forty recalled them well) sent them into panic. Those who stood for the principles of that tyranny and demanded the Covenant that was its idol, were automatically enemies. In short, there were the makings of a Whig scare, on the lines of the Borzhui or Communist scares so familiar to us in our present Europe, and with more cause than some of them have had. If they could have distinguished, realised that most of the country was thankfully with them in all that made for peace, that the Whigs whose Covenant principles alarmed them were not brilliant politicians like Henderson or great nobles like Argyle, but country ministers of the most backward province, they might conceivably have been sane enough to let them work off their fanaticism in words. As Sir George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh wisely remarked,

> If Laws and Law-givers did not make Hereticks vain, by taking too much notice of their extravagancies, the world should be no more troubled with these than with the Chimeras of Alchemists . . . And it fairs with them as with Tops, which how long they are scourged, keep foot and run pleasantly, but fall how soon they are neglected and left to themselves.

One is not quite certain if it would have worked, though. Sir George was obliged to add

> Albeit, I confess, that when they not only recede from the canonised [=defined] Creed of the Church, but likeways intrude upon the Laws of the State, then . . . of all other they are the most dangerous :

and what the Protesters demanded, as before, was not tolerance but the right to persecute. Both 1560 and 1638 had shown how a compact and resolute minority of extremists could sway and come to control a majority. (And we have also seen as much in our time.) One is not sure the country could have been saved. It certainly was not. The counter-revolution, as often happens, chose to imitate those qualities in its opponents that had kept them in power first, then wrought their overthrow: and as usual these now did the same to themselves, only they practised them with more moderation, so that they lasted for a longer time, and what actually exploded the next revolution was proposals for universal toleration. Yet the changes of that century were swift, as history goes. A man who was forty at the Restoration had seen the first Covenant when he was eighteen, and would not be seventy at the next Revolution: and a man who was eighteen when William landed would be seventy-six when he had the news of Culloden.

To begin with, there was wild joy, 'a mad roaring time.' Scotland was free of the English garrisons, and had a King to bridle the kirk-sessions: these two things were what most struck the common man. The Stewarts, his guardians and leaders, were back on the throne, and deil scowp wi' Maccallummore! On the 19th of June the Bailies of Edinburgh (not, for some time, a town of much Royalist feeling) held a banquet of celebration at the Cross: three hundred dozen of glasses, someone reckoned, were broken that day in loyal toasts to the King. The bells rang, the fountains ran merrily with claret: Oliver Cromwell and the Devil, in fireworks, pursued each other on the Castle Rock, till both blew up superbly in flying sparks; and many citizens of the Gude Toun found the turnpike eccentric on their way to bed.

The country had clearly swung Rightwards, with a dunt. The Protesters, and the Leftward end of the Resolutioners, who wanted the *status quo* if not the 'forties, were uneasy. Already the latter had sent, to

London first and then to Breda, James Sharpe, the able minister of Crail, in order to be sure that this should be. Scottish affairs, however, had to wait. The country had been in no case to make terms.

The leading matters were the restoration of royal authority, and the settlement of religious affairs and economic confusion—not only wrecked trade, but the general tangle of forfeitures and fines. The first was the easiest, and to Charles essential. The selection of his Officers of State provided a sort of Centre Coalition. Glencairn and Middleton, Engagers and the former Episcopalian, became Chancellor and Commissioner for the new Parliament. Crawford and Rothes, who also had fought for Charles, were Treasurer and President of the Council: Crawford was a Resolutioner Presbyterian, Rothes the same officially, and in practice, if anything, a disciple of Bacchus. The Secretaryship of State (by now, in practice, the most important office, since its holder had the most constant access to the King) went also to a Resolutioner, who was to rule Scotland for most of the next twenty years. This was the Earl of Lauderdale, a strange figure: a gross lump of a man with a queer thick vitality, the lover of a brilliant unscrupulous woman, a distinguished scholar, enthusiastic for theology to the point of learning Hebrew to study better, hungry for power after seven years of prison—from Worcester till the Restoration released him—and a politician rather than a statesman, with far less of the grasp of politics than had marked his collateral forebear Lethington.

By August, there was a sort of government. On the 23rd there met once more the Committee of Estates that Monk had captured in 1651. There was inter-Presbyterian trouble at once. The nine years since the capture had not increased the Resolutioners' liking for the Protesters. Now the Protesters begged the Resolutioners to concur with them in an address to the King, in which he was invited to resemble David, Solomon, Jehoshaphat, and Hezekiah, by enforcing the Covenant. A dozen Protesters also, under Guthrie, met near the Parliament House, and drafted a petition against prelacy, the Liturgy, the Prayer-book, and all corruption, including 'the vomit of toleration,' urging the King to enforce the Covenant on England and Ireland and insist on its subscription by all officials. The Committee thrice bade them disperse, and when they refused to do so arrested them, finding papers denouncing King, Kirk, and Estates. Unlawful conventions were forbidden, and the King informed the Edinburgh Presbytery—not Protesters, as a rule, but on the whole Presbyterian by inclination—that he would preserve the government of the Church of Scotland 'as settled by law.' As result, the Resolutioners dealt at once with some of their more violent opponents, and several Protesters were deposed. Indeed, for the next thirty years (and longer) the moderate Presbyterians and the extremists were quite as antagonistic to each other as either were to the Episcopalians, and were to denounce each other quite as loudly: those Westland Whigs who are canonised by the modern Establishment would have dredged the Prophets for terms of contumely for it.

The Estates met on New Year's Day, 1662. The Honours were dug from below the kirk floor at Kinneff, and brought out with joy, somewhat tempered by the fact that a fortnight before eighty-five hogsheads of the Public Records, taken to England by Cromwell, were lost at sea on their way north again.[1] It was a heavy session: in six months they passed nearly four hundred acts, that took seven hours' continuous proclamation. These are varied: many forfeitures were revoked and charters confirmed, and there was a serious effort at reconstruction. The liberties of the burghs were confirmed, care was taken for plantations and enclosures, for the erecting of manufactories, and for various trade details down to the packing of salmon. Foreign manufacturers were to be encouraged to set up factories in Scotland, but an embargo was placed on the import of all goods that could be made at home.[2]

The great matter, however, was to recover the *status quo* of 1630, and see that it lasted. By mid-January the royal authority had been safeguarded. All Officers of State and members of Parliament had to acknowledge the King as supreme over all persons and in all causes. The choice of the Officers of State, of the Privy Council and the Lords of Session, the control of the militia, and all questions of peace, war, and foreign policy were made royal prerogatives, and on the 27th February it was enacted that Officers of State and the members of Parliament should swear allegiance admitting these points in detail. On the 22nd March an annual grant of £40,000 was voted for that standing army no former King had possessed.[1] The Solemn League and Covenant was formally declared no longer binding, and on the 28th March a comprehensive Rescissory Act was passed, modelled on that of 1639, which annulled all transactions of the Estates of 1640, 1641, 1644, 1645, 1646, 1647, and 1648, with special measures to deal with those of 1643 and 1649. This had the effect of restoring the general body of statute law to the condition of 1633, which meant, among other things, that the law of the land included an Episcopalian Establishment.

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[1] Cf. *Robert Bruce King of Scots*, p. 89. Is there a country in Europe, until the Spain of 1936, so luckless as ours has been, and is, in this matter? It is now eleven years since a Committee reported that great numbers of State papers were swiftly perishing, and in that time nothing has been done about it.

[2] It is surprising that after so long of the rule of the Saints the Restoration Parliament found it needful to pass an act condemning 'the abhominable and so much abounding sins of drunknesse and all manner of cursing and sweareing,' and impose the usual sliding scale of fines. The first offence cost a nobleman £S20, and a minister a fifth of his year's stipend.

On the same day, Charles declared his general intentions towards the Church. He would maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion, as established under his royal father and grandfather, and settle Church government in the manner most agreeable to the Word of God, most suitable to the monarchy, and most in accordance with public peace and quiet: and notwithstanding anything in the Act Rescissory, the synods, presbyteries, and sessions might go on sitting. This statement calls for comment. It is frequently quoted as a promise to retain the *status quo* of 1660, but in fact there is nothing in it incompatible with a return to that of 1610-38: for synods, presbyteries, and sessions had all through that time been part of the regular organisation of the Church: the reason why they are mentioned as permitted was that the return to the earlier use made a synod irregular without the bishop, and only one bishop had survived the war. The permission was not for their existence, which in terms of the Act remained perfectly legal, but for their holding with an unavoidable technical irregularity.

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[1] Much of it came from the excise on beer, whose price therefore rose and according to some observers incurred the Divine Wrath, expressed in ' thunder, fyre, unheard of tempests and inundations,' apparently meant to cause a reversal of Cana.

The synods, when they met in April and May, discussed the matter: the different views are of interest. Dumfries and Galloway were uniformly Protester, and violently against any change, demanding the deposition of all conformists to Prelacy, and that the two Covenants should be sworn by all subjects in the kingdom. Elsewhere, however, even in the former strongholds of the Left, the tone was more moderate: Glasgow and Ayr wished to petition for the *status quo* of 1660, but even in that district there were sufficient Resolutioners in favour of Episcopacy to prevent this. They did however pass a resolution against 'prelatical episcopacy': but this, intended to placate their Protesters, merely annoyed them, as these said it did not bar episcopacy as such and in general, and complained that the Covenant had not been demanded. Fife, the old fortress of the Left, also wished for no change, but expressed itself in moderate terms, very different from those it had used after Philiphaugh, and declared itself loyal to the King. Lothian was sharply divided: there were many Episcopalians, but it also held Dickson, Resolutioner in politics but extremist in doctrine, and one of the most bloodthirsty during the 'forties, and Douglas, leader of the definitely Presbyterian Resolutioners. It suspended some Protester ministers, but refused to permit the Lord's Prayer in public worship.

In the Northern synods, the temper was otherwise. They deposed, with joy, their Protesters, who were few, for the Covenant had never been loved north of Tay, and the majority of both clergy and people were eager to return to Episcopacy. In Aberdeen, in spite (or because) of its long subjection to Cant, the synod of fifty-four were unanimous in a fervent regret for past disturbances, and desire for restoration of what was lost.

While Parliament sat, various other matters went forward. The attainders of Huntly, Montrose, Spottiswoode, and other men who had died for the King on the scaffold were reversed. The revenues of the vacant benefices were bestowed on deprived clergy and their relations, many of whom were almost starving: these included Wishart and the widows of three of the Aberdeen doctors. In February, Argyle was charged with treason: his record of the last twelve years was brought up. He was beheaded on the 27th of May, and his head went up on the spike where Montrose's skull had borne the weather of the previous decade. He died with a decent courage, protesting his innocence of the King's death. James Guthrie, the Protester leader, was hanged a few days later, also for treason: Sir George MacKenzie, who admired his 'great parts and courage,' declares that he 'would willingly have redeemed his life by a submission, but that the multitude of ladies upbraided him . . . and so thrust him violently upon his death.' (Indeed, Mause Headrigg, for the next thirty years, and in all classes, faced the Government with a problem, for the extremer brands of Calvinism have always had a strong fascination for women.) With Guthrie died an obscure Protester called Govan, who had fought against Charles under Strachan, and since many more had done so, might well have been spared. Two more were sentenced, but pardoned, and the only other capital punishment was on Warriston, the Covenant's first Censor of the Press, who had taken the lead in 1645 in annulling all quarter granted in the field: he, however, was to escape for the time being. Rutherford also was charged with treason, but died before trial. This was the whole of the direct reprisals.

There was also one notable gesture of reparation. On the 4th January the Estates resolved on it, and on the 7th they took from the Tolbooth spike the head of Montrose, and gathered together the broken dishonoured body. From that day onward to the 11th May, sixteen days before Argyle went to his place, these lay in state in Holyrood Abbey Kirk, and then he went up the Canongate once more, not driven by the hangman but borne by fourteen earls, with twelve viscounts and barons carrying his pall. The May sun shone and the cannon roared from the Rock, and he came to his last lodging in St Giles. But they could not bring him back to life again : he would have been still under fifty then, could have served Scotland, even saved her, perhaps. She paid dearly for that three fathoms of a rope.

It was on the 12th July that Parliament rose, and the Kirk was still unorganised. Episcopacy was again the law, but only one bishop had survived the wars, so that in practice the matter still lay open. Certain nobles went to the King and debated the question in the Privy Council. Lauderdale, Crawford, and the Earl of Selkirk, who now was Duke of Hamilton by marriage, wished for an alteration of the law to a purely presbyterial government. Middleton declared that ‘ the greater and honester part of the nation ’ desired a return to episcopacy. He was backed by Glencairn and Rothes—an odd apostle, but theology and sobriety do not necessarily conjoin. They were also supported by James Sharpe, minister of Crail, who had been the Resolutioners’ agent in London in withstanding the Protesters under Cromwell, and again in 1660 in their attempt to secure the *status quo* as against the Episcopalians. He now was losing his objections to episcopacy, or returning to the beliefs of his earlier years : he had been brought up at Aberdeen under 'the Doctors.' James Sharpe played a prominent and unlucky part in the politics of the next eighteen years, and few men in our history have been more execrated. He hardly deserves the full tide of abuse. Men's views do change, and while he was actually the appointed agent of the Resolutioners, charged with a definite mission, he seems to have honestly fulfilled that mission. He was no more a sadistic debauchee than the wizard that his unfriends also called him, but a man of respectable life and an open-handed charity to the poor. One need go no further, however, in his praise. He was ambitious, loved power; and fear (for his life had even now been threatened, and he was in fact to be murdered in the end) made him concur in panic legislation that smacked too much of his Covenanting years. He now informed Charles that all but a score of Resolutioners would accept episcopacy if it were restored.

The statement in fact was not far wrong: but Charles was relying much on Lauderdale, and the point hung unsettled. It was the Protesters who determined it, by renewed demands for the Covenants for the Three Kingdoms. Charles, with Hyde, his ablest English counseller, and Ormonde, who led in Ireland, thought, as past history made probable, that a Presbyterian Establishment might deliver Scotland to the Protesters, which in turn would mean a certain civil war, and possibly also an invasion of England; for though the Resolutioners now had virtually dropped the Covenant, they had claimed it until quite lately, and might again.

In August the King announced his decision to the Privy Council, and on the 6th September it was proclaimed at the Mercat Cross, though it still required to be ratified by the Estates. The Kirk was now definitely to be ‘ restored to its right government by bishops, as it was by law before the late troubles.’ The practical difficulty then was dealt with. In the twenty-two years’ suspension of the episcopate, the bishops had all died save the venerable Sydserf, and since three were required for a consecration, the Apostolic Succession had been lost—the unbroken nexus going back to the Apostles. The solution was simple, however. As before, after the previous lapse of fifty years, there was a Reformed Church where the Succession had been carried on, and as the episcopate was in essence an international institution, it could be renewed thence, that is to say, from England, whose own succession, in fact, had a Scottish strand. It was therefore decided as in 1610 that certain bishops-elect should be consecrated by some of their English brethren, avoiding, as then, the customary presence of an Archbishop in order not to give semblance of excuse for a possible claim of English jurisdiction.[1]

The choice of the thirteen candidates was varied. Sydserf of Galloway, a gentle, frail, and deeply devout old man, was not given an archbishopric but translated to the more peaceful see of Orkney. St Andrews was offered to Sharpe, Glasgow to Fairfoul, minister of Duns. The choice appears to have been made in order to conciliate the two parties, as the two could be considered to represent the Left and Right Centre : Fairfoul was an Episcopalian who had conformed, Sharpe a Presbyterian who was about to do so : the one was a colourless man of a passive respectability, the other has been described. The choice for the suffragan sees was more varied, and in several cases much better. Edinburgh went to George Wishart, Montrose's chaplain, a scholar and man of fine and generous character, a consistent Episcopalian who had suffered severely for his faith ; Aberdeen to David Mitchell, of similar character and a like record ; Dunblane to the saintly Robert Leighton, Principal of Edinburgh, the Scottish Fénelon : he had been bred an extreme Presbyterian, but the excesses of the Covenant had caused him to change his opinions, and he had resigned his charge.[1] The rest were men who welcomed the return to the position of the 1630's : all were of respectable character, but none was in any way remarkable, and the choice suggests a general playing for safety.

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[1] As readers of the previous volumes will recall, such claims had often been made in the Middle Ages, and rebutted, with papal support and a good deal of vigour. The last had been made so late as by Henry VIII, with some freedom of statement even for that monarch.

Sharpe, Fairfoul, Leighton, and Hamilton of Galloway were consecrated at Westminster on the 15th December by three English bishops and a Welsh one, no English archbishop taking part: Sharpe and Leighton, not having received episcopal ordination, were previously ordained to the diaconate and the priesthood. In spring they returned to Edinburgh amid acclamation,[1] and consecrated their ten brethren. The matter, however, was not yet concluded, as they had to be restored to their position in the body politic. On the 8th May 1662 the Estates met, and at once restored their own old constitution, admitting the prelates so far consecrated. On the 27th May they passed an act to

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[1] The story is told that when still Presbyterian he was rebuked for not ' preaching to the times '—i.e., on politics. He asked ' Who does so ? ' and was told ' Why, all the brethren.' To which he responded, ' Then, if that is so, you will surely permit one poor brother to preach Christ Jesus and Eternity ? '

> redintegrat the State [estate, order] of Bishops to their Antient places and vndoubted priviledges in Parliament . . . and . . . heirby Restore them to the exercise of their episcopall function, presidencie in the Church, power of ordination, inflicting of censure, and all other acts of Church discipline, which they are to perform With advice and assistance of such of the Clergie as they shall find to be of known loyaltie and prudence.

This last clause made their powers in one way more absolute than in the constitutional jurisdiction of the period before 1638:[2] at the same time, however, the Crown claimed a right to order the Church's external polity. This was now granted; the breach between

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[1] On the King's Birthday of this year the subjects of Linlithgow showed a picture of 'Rebellion in a religious habit' and sang a mock litany inviting deliverance 'from Covenanters with uplifted hands.'

[2] A warning of the previous volume must be repeated. The sacramental and the administrative power of a bishop are two quite separate things, whose confusion has led to much confusion of statement. The essence of his office lies in the first, which has been constant since the Primitive Church: it is only he who can admit to full lay membership of the Church, or to Holy Orders. His administrative jurisdiction varies from time to time and from place to place, and very widely.

Kirk and Crown had led to such ghastly results that the tendency now was to swing abruptly to the other extreme. On the 11th June, all ministers admitted since 1649 (when as result of the Engager movement, lay patronage had been declared abolished) were declared to be suspended, with the proviso, however, that if they should now be lawfully presented by the patron of their charge and collated (=formally appointed) by its bishop, they should be reinstated, the patron being bound to present the sitting incumbent if he applied. Further, all persons in offices of public trust had to sign a declaration affirming the Covenant and armed risings to be unlawful. The settlement was concluded on the 9th September by an act proclaiming a general amnesty,

> that all seeds of future difference and remembrance of former proceidings may as well by his Maiestie as by his Subiects one towards another be forgotten.

Some 800 persons, mainly in the South-west, were excepted from its provisions in so far as they were only to be received to the King's peace on the payment of fines for the relief of the loyal subjects who had suffered in the troubles : but these fines were not uplifted for the present, and a clause ordains that

> every clause and word in this present act be vnderstood and interpreted in the most favourable sense.

Legally, now, episcopacy was back. Of the 600 Resolutioner clergy, all but some forty accepted the new régime either willingly or at least without resistance. The Bishops, as a rule, showed wisdom and moderation, and were willing to proceed slowly, especially in the matter of those externals which had caused the conflict of the sixteen-thirties : many of the bishops and clergy desired the restoration of the Prayer-book, but were willing to leave it to a gradual process of education. Unfortunately, the newly restored constitution suffered from the same handicap as the Prayer-book had done. Men who welcomed its restoration were numerous, men who did not disapprove were also numerous, but men who approved of the way in which it was enacted, by the royal prerogative, were less numerous. And while most of the bishops showed a wise moderation, the two who were less wise were in key positions, and the Government backed them rather than the rest. Yet though there were, after some years, to be explosions, the small local insurrections of extremists, much as was made of them by a scared Government, and more as has since been made by romantic historians, are not to be compared with the violent movements of the late sixteen-thirties. When the Episcopal Church was overthrown, the force that worked its disestablishment was not religious feeling but politics—in the main, the politics of England and Holland.

The assemblies of the Church had been suspended in December, pending reorganisation. In October of 1662 the Bishops convened the synods. The proceedings are of interest. In the North and East the meetings were well attended. Several bishops and ministers desired the Liturgy and the Perth Articles, but these were not formally re-enacted. Edinburgh (Lothian), where Wishart preached on ‘let your moderation be known to all men,’ decided to restore daily services in all burgh towns, and the use of the Lord’s Prayer, the Doxology, and the Creed. Leighton’s synod at Dunblane demanded that larger portions of Scripture should be read as an integral part of the service, ‘not as a bye-work while the people were convening,’ and that sermons should be simpler and shorter, and deal with the fundamentals: they also restored the Lord’s Prayer, the Doxology, and the Creed. Mitchell’s in Aberdeen, meeting in King’s Chapel, drew up an order for Morning and Evening Prayer, restored the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, and the reading of the Ten Commandments, and desired the use of larger portions of Scripture. They arranged for daily public worship in the larger places, and for private baptism and communion where necessary, and recommended standing or kneeling for public prayer. These are typical of the commonly forgotten North and East, where the new régime succeeded from the start in winning a general measure of acceptance.

In the South-west, the matter was different. In the Synod of Glasgow only thirty-two were present out of 240, and in Galloway and Campbell Argyle there was a general strike of ministers. Something under a third of the clergy (counting the Protesters) had refused to accept the restoration of patronage: they remained in their charges (nearly all in the South-west) but ceased to officiate, in the hope that it would force the Council's hand. Sharpe got the time for conformity extended to the 1st February, and some came in : but a considerable number—something under 200 : that is, rather over a fifth of the parish clergy—resigned their parishes, though not all had to leave them, as nearly two years later there were still a number of non-conformist incumbents in the diocese of Glasgow.

1662-3 saw the passing from the scene of some prominent figures. Loudoun died in March. Robert Baillie, now Principal of Glasgow, died in August, his last years saddened, for he regretted the new state of affairs, though the Archbishop, respecting his great learning and his kindly and attractive character, treated him with a friendly courtesy. The bloodthirsty Dickson, who had lost his Chair, died in December, and in February the new Establishment suffered a serious loss, in the death of Bishop Mitchell of Aberdeen. He was followed two months later by that Cant who through the 'forties had been the virtual Pope of his diocese : and March 1663 brought the passing, if not from life, at least from politics, of a man whose exit may be taken as marking the end of this initial phase. Middleton tried to thrust Lauderdale from office, and fell himself, losing his post of High Commissioner : he was to live till 1674, but henceforth he played no part in public affairs.

CHAPTER XI

THE NEW WORLD

THREE YEARS AND EIGHT MONTHS: MARCH 1663–NOVEMBER 1666

> Maman, est-ce qu'aujourd'hui sera encore hier?
> The Dauphin on 7th October 1789.
> *Mémoires de Mme. Campan.*

By the time the Restoration was three years old, matters were in a problematical case. Most of Scotland had settled thankfully to the new order, and over three-fourths of the Church were making an honest effort to maintain it with as little friction and hardship as might be. But there was still an intransigent minority which dominated the South-west provinces: and nearly two hundred ministers who composed it had either given up their manses and stipends or had shown that they were willing so to do before abating a jot of the Covenant's claim to force Presbyterianism on the Three Kingdoms. Now, these were not merely conscientious dissenters from the Establishment, but its active enemies, who considered it a point of holiness to show neither mercy nor faith to any opponent. Every man who was as much as middle-aged had seen how they conducted themselves when in power, and it was by no means only a few debauchees who had no desire to repeat the experience. Several times, also, since 1648, they had risen in arms, upon religious grounds, against an Establishment which did not differ from them in either polity or theology, but merely in their secular applications. They filled a district geographically impossible to police . . . and twice already, in only a little more than a century, a very similar minority had placed itself in power by a coup d'état, and brought about a long era of war and turmoil.

The Government were nervous, and with cause. As has been said above, it is *possible* that a policy of broad-minded and generous toleration might have succeeded: one cannot, however, be sure, for what the Protesters wanted was not the freedom to practise their own religion, but freedom to prevent three-fourths of the kingdom (to say nothing of England and Ireland) from practising theirs. To accept toleration would have been to allow, by inference, freedom of thought to those who differed from them: and they quite honestly believed that this was the ultimate sin against the Holy Ghost. Perhaps a man who was both saint and statesman, and had the driving power of Robert Bruce, might have achieved some kind of a concordat: the man who did most to make one was merely a saint, the statesmen (so to call them) of the day have never been thought qualified for haloes, and no one in a position for control had the sure strength the situation needed: therefore the issues were deeply tragic for Scotland.

The two men who held the power after Middleton fell were Rothes, who succeeded him as Commissioner, and Lauderdale. Rothes was a humorous blackguard, superbly illiterate, seldom quite drunk and almost never sober. Lauderdale has been described. Both were ex-Covenanters, Rothes being the son of a leader of 1638, while Lauderdale, for his piety, scholarship, and sound belief, had been a delegate to the Westminster Assembly. They had changed their younger opinions, but still were ready to use to their opponents the methods that the Covenanting 'forties had applied to Royalists and Episcopalians. Lauderdale (and Rothes was under his control) was not brutal for the sake of brutality, nor on grounds of conscience: his victims suffered not as Spawn of Satan, but as rebels against the royal authority, and consequently dangers to his career and his chance of pleasing the costly Lady Dysart. When he thought he could safely be merciful, he was . . . and in practice the situation and the man produced that blend of concession and oppression whose uncertainty means the maximum irritation, while it also gives an encouraging sporting chance that nothing very serious may happen.

His accession to power was welcomed by the moderates and the Left. He proceeded almost at once to fall foul of the Establishment. The Estates met on the 18th June of 1663,[1] and the first Act gave him control of Parliament by restoring the old method of electing the Lords of the Articles: the Bishops chose eight nobles, the nobles as many bishops, and both chose sixteen from the lairds and burgesses, now re-combined to form a Third Estate; and the Officers of State were included as such. Then he proposed a National Assembly, to consist of the Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, the Moderator and one other member from each presbytery, and representatives of the Universities. It set the Establishment against him: the ministers complained they were under-represented, the bishops that power of veto was given to the senior Archbishop, and both together, and loudly, condemned the suggestion that their debates should be limited to subjects introduced by the Crown. So vigorous was the objection that the proposal was quashed, and the Assembly never met.

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[1] While the Parliament sat, Johnston of Warriston, caught in France, was brought before them and examined. The fiery persecutor of the past, who had thundered against quarter to Amalek, made a poor figure, grovelling on his face and weeping for mercy. His old sentence for treason had never been reversed, and he was hanged on the 22nd July. He recovered his firmness before he reached the end, and died protesting that he was sure of salvation.

Shortly thereafter he went on from that to antagonise the Left. The Bishops, as was their duty, were attempting to fill up the vacant charges, and since the Universities had so long been closed to all non-Covenanters, were finding it difficult to get suitable men: and unfortunately the bulk of the task fell on the feeble Archbishop Fairfoul, who was not discriminating. We need not take too literally the unfriendly description of the new batch of curates, as recorded by men who thought bishops cast no shadows: their beliefs made them automatically the Devil's offspring, wherefore it followed they must have all the vices. The chief authority for these is Wodrow: the culminating point of his evidence is that at the Communion service of one of them, the Devil appeared and officiated in person—a detail less often quoted than some of the rest, but put forward with the same sincerity. But as Leighton complained later that the lack of care in selection and

> the negligent and indifferent throwing in upon them of any that came to hand was the great cause of all the disquiet . . . in those parts,

it seems clear that the men on whom so much depended were at best a scratch lot : and it is also clear that had they been the Twelve Apostles in person, their intended flocks would have greeted them as they did—nailed up their church doors, taken out bell clappers, put ants' nests in their boots, and (this was what brought Lauderdale into the business) removed themselves to those conventicles to which the South-west had been given for twenty years now.

The Assemblies of the Covenanting days had furiously resisted conventicles, as well of the Left as of the Right. Lauderdale, a member of so many past Assemblies, knew all about them, and how easily doctrine, in preaching to the times, became incendiary politics. In July he put through an act 'against separation and disobedience to ecclesiasticall authority,' by which those who 'ordinarily and wilfully' absented themselves from the parish kirk were to be fined according to their rank, and might have corporal punishment superadded, in the manner of the 1560 act against Catholics . . . though that had enacted confiscation, not a mere fine. In August the act was further tightened; non-conforming ministers were ordered to remove twenty miles from their late charges, and not to reside within six miles of a city or three of a royal burgh.

The act has been described as the first subjecting laymen to penalties for nonconformity. It was, of course, very far from being that: but it was the first under the new régime, and naturally it roused an acute ill-feeling, very skilfully directed against the Bishops, whose 'dragnet' it was labelled. The weight of emotion, translated in practical terms, fell heavily on the new curates: the conventicling of the South-west increased, and now began, as indoor accommodation proved too scanty, to spread to out of doors, where it was still more difficult to check. The growing popularity of these open-air meetings in so wild a country had probably a good deal to do with the psychological changes one observes in the Left of the 'sixties and the 'seventies. The shaft of the pre-Restoration Covenant was the townsfolk; its spear-head minister-politicians, often fine scholars; its guiding hand, as a rule, politicians *pur sang*, opposed to the power of the Crown. Now and henceforth, however, the typical Covenanter grows nearer the familiar type of fiction. They were countrymen now, of a country of shepherds rather than of farmers, and the greater part of it of a naked wildness, more savage by far than the greater hills of the Highlands; while few men are more alone with their own souls than the herd of an outer hirsel in fine weather. The idolatry of the Verbal Formula continues, but beside it grows that vein of mysticism that may rise in an ardent mind in such a setting (these men were of the fiery Cymric stock) bent fiercely on lonely study of the Scriptures, that now were more likely to be the Psalms and Prophets than the wars and legal minutiae of the Pentateuch . . . and no more likely, perhaps, to be the Gospels. It was a mysticism too undisciplined, too unguarded by forms that are crystallised experience, not to run very easily to madness : but much of it was real mysticism, a real contact with the numinous, expressed at times in a passionate poetry and defended with a most honourable courage. Mystics who preach a creed of political murder, as these came to do, are anti-social figures : but one can respect, and even warmly like, a number of these later Covenanters, even as one is aware that by civilised standards they were undoubtedly asking for a rope. Scott, with his masterly eye for social colour, hits off the distinction between the old type and the new in the eighteenth chapter of *Old Mortality*. Kettledrummle's sermon is of the past generation, with its division into

> fifteen heads, each of which was garnished with seven uses of application, two of consolation, two of terror, two declaring the causes of backsliding and of wrath, and one announcing the promised and expected deliverance :

while the wild but noble eloquence of Macbriar, the sheer lunacy, but fiercely poetical lunacy, of Mucklewrath, are of the new : and later on in the same book Scott puts his finger, if unconsciously, on the very core of the case against them both, in drawing the lovely figure of Bessie Maclure, whose *anima naturaliter Christiana* has gone past Calvin to a profound and sweet instinctive sainthood, yet who venerates, with unquestioning acceptance, the brutal and half-crazy murderer Burley. And what men admire determines the mode of their living, and much of life for those who are in their power.

The year went out in ill-feeling, and the opening of 1664 brought two fresh clouds. Archbishop Fairfoul had died in November, and Burnet, Mitchell's successor, was translated to his see from Aberdeen. For Aberdeen this was fortunate, as he was succeeded there by Scougal, in whom (and in his son) lived the spirit of the great Doctors. But it was unlucky for the Kirk at large, since Burnet, though devout and upright, was a fanatic. The conformity that Sharpe increasingly sought for safety he urged, upon sincere religious grounds, nearly as violently as Dickson or Cant. Sharpe also was taking a more vigorous line. He had urged Lauderdale against the Protesters. Now he outwent him: it appears to have been on his motion, at any rate, that the Court of High Commission was re-established, just after the New Year. It consisted of the Archbishops, seven bishops, the Chancellor, Treasurer, and several peers, judges, lairds, and burgesses, a bishop and four others being a quorum: and its business now was to see to the execution of all Acts of Parliament and the Privy Council concerning the Kirk. That is, as one might expect from Sharpe's general attitude, it was a completely Erastian affair, and neither judicious, nor, as it proved, useful, for in its two years' life it did little more than to exasperate by its mere existence. Wodrow tells a lurid tale of its persecutions, which as too often happens with that worthy but imaginative writer, who so handsomely earned his Hanoverian subsidy, is uncritically repeated from book to book. In fact, the Court was little more than a ghost : but the Privy Council enforced the Conventicle Act. Fines of 20/- Scots were imposed, and soldiers were quartered in pairs where there was non-payment. Under Sharpe and Lauderdale, the methods that had enforced the Covenant were now being used against those who wished to revive it.

Through 1664 those measures continued, and in September the Indemnity fines, which so far had never been levied, were called in, and used to pay for a force of military police, under Turner[1] and that lively and hard-swearing old oddity, Dalziel of Binns, new home from Russian service and heavy-handed. These were set now to disarm the South-west counties. The increase of stringency was not without reason. England and Holland were at loggerheads. The English merchants in Africa found the Dutch unpleasantly successful rivals, and in August of this year an English expedition fell on and captured the Dutch American colony of New Amsterdam, renamed New York in honour of Charles's brother. Holland, not unnaturally, resented this, and since her connection with the Scottish Left had always been close, included in preparations for a war the stirring up of revolt in the South-west. In the spring of 1665 the war began, and in June the Duke of York, now High Admiral and a very good one, defeated the Dutch fleet off Lowestoft. Apparently some further Dutch plans came to light. Some suspected gentlemen were seized and warded, and measures of repression were continued. The Bishops were blamed, of course: in fact the actors were the Privy Council, on which none of them sat except the Archbishops. These two did certainly concur, Sharpe from policy, Burnet from fanaticism: but in October 1665 Bishop Leighton of Dunblane, who had striven for years to seek peace and ensue it, went direct to the King and resigned his see as a protest. Charles, who had enough goodness, if spoilt, in himself, to respect it sincerely enough in other men, promised the Council's methods should be relaxed, and induced him to return to his diocese.

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[1] Gilbert Burnet (a Whig, in the later sense of the word) calls him 'naturally fierce :' but his own very likeable memoirs show a constant dislike of unnecessary force, and in his earlier days, fighting for the Covenant, it is he who risked his commission, like Wolfe after Culloden, by protesting at the foul business at Dunaverty. He drank, however, and may have been less gentle drunk than sober.

Charles probably meant it: he really desired toleration. The Protesters, however, were now in direct alliance with the Crown's foreign enemies, as their predecessors had been a hundred years before. The war went on: June 1666 brought a four days' inconclusive battle off the North Foreland, while next month the Dutch were sharply defeated in the same waters by

Monk, now Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert. By then they were arranging with the Protesters for the capture of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, the keys of Scotland, that could lock the door upon the loyal North: if it came off, the Estates-General promised them 150,000 guilders, with arms and ammunition. Further, South-western emotion, fierce and Cymric, was being worked up, unconsciously by the Privy Council, deliberately by the Protester leaders, who found the Great Plague of London the year before, the Great Fire this summer, made admirable themes for encouraging Israel to rise in arms. Israel responded, but something, perhaps, leaked out, for heritors and landlords were made responsible for their tenants' conduct,[1] and Turner was set once more to search for arms.

In mid-November 1666, as he lay at Dumfries, with a handful of cavalry quartered here and there, there was a sudden attempt at an armed *coup*. It is possible that it was set off, as Rothes puts it in his decorative spelling, by

> damd ffulls who hes antisipat ther tayme of raysing,

for certainly there are signs of organisation, and certainly also it was a complete fiasco. At Dalry, upon the 13th of that month, a party of Whigs (the word was now the common one for Protesters, and we may as well adopt it from this point) came on some of Turner's troopers threatening a prisoner who had refused to pay a fine. There was a fight, and one of the soldiers was shot in the body with a charge of pieces of broken tobacco-pipe. This curious ammunition fired the train. Turner was no commander to stand his men being shot full of pipeclay, so a hasty summons was sent out for a meeting next day at Irongray. The day after, fifty Whigs rode into Dumfries, and lifted Turner, who was ill, from his bed, taking with them also his papers and his money, although they managed to omit his clothes, and the worthy knight had to go in his shirt and bed-socks. The heather, by now, was properly on fire. A second rendezvous at Brig of Doon, for the 21st, produced about 700 countrymen from Galloway and Clydesdale and Ayrshire, with some preachers and a few local gentlemen headed by one James Wallace, a colonel of the English Civil War. An attack on Glasgow was proposed, but Dalziel was in the way. Edinburgh, by tradition, was friendly to the Left, though in fact it had grown a good deal less so now: the leaders decided therefore to march on it, and get into touch with a Dutch fleet of forty sail, lying off Dunbar. They went on accordingly, through soaking weather, taking with them Turner, who though it was proposed to pistol him contrived to extract a good deal of entertainment from standing the ministers beer to hear them say grace. On the 26th, by now some 1200 strong, they came to Lanark. There they solemnly renewed the Covenant: in 1666 they still held the aims of 1643, to force Presbyterian Calvinism on the Three Kingdoms, though this time with Dutch assistance instead of English.

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[1] Not so unfair as it sounds. It was easy to send out one's retainers under a convenient cadet, while the laird sat canny at home till the cat had jumped.

The ’sixties, however, differed from the ’forties, and though Holland was ready to come to their support, neither England nor their own country would do as much. Unofficial efforts were made to induce them to lay down their arms upon promise of pardon. They refused, being confident in the Dutch and the Almighty : the famous Sandy Peden, Peden the Prophet, was with them to stir up their enthusiasm, and it was not given long enough to cool. Two days out of Lanark, a week from the gathering at Brig of Doon, they reached Colinton, and found Edinburgh guarded. Dalziel had followed, and on ‘ a fair frosty day ’ he forced them into action at Rullion Green. Turner’s description suggests they had had some drill, especially the horse : but they did not stand. Some fifty were killed, a good many more were taken, the rest scattered and made off as best they could, Turner and Peden going opposite ways. The whole of what came to be called the Pentland Rising took exactly a fortnight from beginning to end, involved 1200 men, most of them peasants, and was completely broken at the first action.

CHAPTER XI

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF

TWELVE AND A HALF YEARS : DECEMBER 1666–JUNE 1679

> Kings will be tyrants from policy when subjects are rebels from principle.
>
> Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

A WISE government might have realised two things: from the fact of the rising that they were being unduly provocative, from its smallness and the ease of its repression that there was little need to fear their opponents. But apart from the fact that these, few in themselves, had behind them the very powerful Dutch Republic, at war just then with Scotland's partner nation, the government did not happen to be a wise one, certainly not wise enough to cope with the temptation common to governments restored to power after a long and violent revolution. We in our day have seen too many White Terrors follow on Red ones to be much surprised at the mismanagement of the sixteen-sixties and the sixteen-seventies: and in fact, though the party restored were unwisely oppressive, after six years' experience of their rule only a handful of intransigents would rise to restore the conditions of the 'forties. Now Lauderdale and his colleagues had been frightened—less for Scotland, perhaps, than for their political standing, undoubtedly compromised by an armed revolt. They proceeded now to show their zeal for the Crown by enthusiastic measures of repression. As result, the course of the next thirteen years repeated, in a slower tempo, with less excuse, but with a larger explosion, very much the same pattern as the preceding six.

The best of the clergy were wise enough to beg their bishops to stand against reprisals, and the best of the bishops willingly agreed, Wishart in special showing a very practical sympathy with the prisoners. The Archbishops, however, backed the Privy Council: and the Privy Council, as has been said, was scared. Eighteen prisoners were hanged at Edinburgh, and others suffered at Glasgow and at Lanark. Whatever qualities the Covenanters might show as a Government, they had two very fine ones as an Opposition—sincere belief and enthusiastic courage. They died bravely, stirring public sympathy. The Council stirred it further, and darkened their own reputation, by putting certain of them to the question, in order to extract information about the origin and organisation of the rising: the Dutch connection made these sinister. One, a young preacher MacKail, bore the torture bravely, and went to the gallows with a noble and memorable valediction:

> Farewell, sun, moon, and stars. Farewell, kindred and friends. Farewell, world and time. Farewell, weak and frail body. Welcome, eternity. Welcome, angels and saints. Welcome, Saviour of the World, and welcome God the Judge of all.

The upshot was that the Government, having won the trifling war in the turn of a hand, and with the country's general approval, lost the peace, and heavily. Popular sympathy rose to such men as MacKail : time was going by, and it was now thirteen years since his party had held real power, and seven since the end of that English domination to which they had delivered Scotland. Young men in particular could not recall those times. The Covenant had ceased to be a menace, and become merely the war-cry of a party who had now been placed on the picturesque side of the quarrel. The point, in practice, is not a trifling one : in politics —Scots politics above most—emotion counts for more than rational values. In Scotland it is not easy to arouse with uniformity in any wide area. When it is so aroused, something violent is going to happen.

The Government's folly, costly as it was, lasted this time briefly, however. In spring, the Dutch were in the Medway. In July Charles signed with them a profitable peace, that gave England New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and valuable territory in West Africa and the West Indies. But London was more conscious that it had recently heard the enemy's guns : no enemy ship had been sunk, and no one hanged. There had to be a scapegoat, and it was Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon, Charles's chief minister since the Restoration.

Now Hyde had stood in England for stiff repression alike of the English Covenanting party, the old Cromwellian Sectaries, and the Catholics : the Scots Government had taken their cue from him. His fall weakened Archbishop Sharpe, whom he had supported, and left in power, for both countries, the ministry called from its members' initials the Cabal. Lauderdale there represented Scots affairs, and with Hyde out of office turned more tolerant. He sent north Sir Robert Moray, the brilliant chemist and mathematician, who was called the soul of the newly founded Royal Society. Moray was charged to form a new government, and since he was, as Charles said, 'head of his own church,' he was not biassed in either ecclesiastical direction. Lauderdale himself became the Commissioner, which now, with the King a confirmed absentee, meant something close to a Viceroy. Rothes was Chancellor, but the real power, under Lauderdale, went to Tweed-dale, Kincardine, Argyle, and Moray himself.[1] These turned to a policy of conciliation, and in August 1667 took measures for peace, disbanding most of the Army. In October they produced an Act of Pardon and Indemnity, with some fifty exceptions: the conditions were merely an undertaking not to rise in arms against or without the royal authority. Suggestions were also made that deprived ministers should be formally permitted to officiate—i.e., for the legal toleration of dissent—and a project put forward for an 'Accommodation' that should close the schism and bring them within the fold of the National Church.

In this last, Bishop Leighton took the lead. He was a strong and convinced Episcopalian, who loved his Thomas à Kempis better than Calvin, and desired the restoration of the Prayer-book: but he craved for peace, and to that was willing to sacrifice all but essentials, and go some way (so many thought) even in those. Appealing to the precedent of the African Church in its dealings with the 'wild and extravagant' Donatists, he offered to give up much of the Bishops' administrative powers, returning to James VI's arrangement of making them Constant Moderators of their synods, without right of veto. Ministers coming into the scheme were allowed to declare they did so 'only for peace' sake.' The plan was not well received. The Archbishops disliked it, and Lauderdale, whose Presbyterian upbringing led him to see only the administrative side of the episcopate (Burnet and Sharpe were unlikely to help him further) thought it would seem at Court a 'pulling down of episcopacy,' feared for his status, and tried to hinder it. Another man almost stopped it altogether. Leighton persevered, and the country was settling down, when in July of 1668 James Mitchell, a preacher who had been out in the Pentland Rising, and according to Wodrow, 'a youth of much zeal and piety,' tried to murder Sharpe as he drove through Edinburgh. He missed him, but crippled the Bishop of Orkney for life, slipped through the crowd, changed his wig, and got away.

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[1] Argyle's sympathies were Presbyterian. Kincardine considered that party 'a trifling sort of disputatious people, that loved logic and sophistry and would fall into much wrangling and subdivide among themselves.'

The affair did not help poor Leighton's Accommodation. He continued, however, pertinaciously, and in spite of Mitchell the new Government still endeavoured conciliation. On the 15th July of 1669 the project for State Recognition of the Dissenters was carried out, with state endowment added, on condition of their confining themselves to purely religious activity. An Indulgence offered manse, glebe, and stipend to those who had lived peaceably and orderly since 1662 and who would undertake to confine their ministrations to their own parish[1] and avoid 'seditious discourse.' Those who in addition would accept episcopal collation and attend presbyteries and synods might return to their own churches if still vacant, or be presented to others. Over forty Presbyterian ministers, who though they had conscientious objections to episcopacy were willing that those who thought otherwise should have it, took advantage of this. History has done them a good deal less than justice, for they clearly did their best to keep their bargain, accepting the civil power in civil matters, and endeavouring to make their people live at peace; and they suffered severely in consequence at the hands of the extremists of their own party.

> The people (i.e., the Whigs) were in a phrenzy . . . The furiousest were busy in conventicles, inflaming the people against all government.

The Whig laity at first came to hear the Indulged, but finding that these merely preached religion instead of lecturing on politics, saw 'a notable departing from them of the divine assistance,' and called them dumb dogs, 'the King's curates, worse than the Bishops',' and other things more biblical than polite. The moderate men were aggrieved, not without reason, and some of them told Gilbert Burnet regretfully that

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[1] Perambulating preachers of sedition were already giving the Government cause for worry.

> those who could have argued about the intrinsic power of the Church and episcopacy and presbytery, on which all their sermons had run for several years, knew very little of the essentials of religion.

The Establishment also objected to the Indulgence—not to its content, apparently, but to the way in which it had been introduced, in the manner of Charles I, by the Crown over the heads of the Church authorities. The Archbishop of Glasgow led a vigorous protest against the King's right to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs, and expressed himself in such forcible terms that the Council objected to his ' unchristened Remonstrance ' as a ' damned paper,' sent him to Glasgow under open arrest, and suspended him from Parliament.

That body met in October (1669) with Lauderdale as Royal Commissioner. He brought fresh matter for strife, in a scheme for the Union of the Kingdoms. Charles desired it, with the usual Stewart liking for unity, and the commercial interests in Scotland concurred, for the Restoration had withdrawn the free-trade of the Commonwealth, and the English had refused to except Scotland from their Navigation Act. Otherwise, general opinion was against it : Lauderdale reports

> You cannot imagine what aversion is generally in this Kingdom to the Union. The indeavor to have made us slaves by garrisons and the ruine of our trade by severe lawes in England frights all ranks of men from having to doe with England.

Both Parliaments appointed Commissions, however: but though these sat through the next autumn, nothing was done, and the unpopular scheme was allowed to drop.

The other main matter was that of the Indulgence. The strength of anti-Erastian feeling in the Establishment must have been very considerable, for Sharpe, no Hildebrand, protested vigorously against the King's intervention, and denounced the three pretenders to ecclesiastical supremacy—the Pope, the old General Assembly, and the King. The startled Council were infuriated, and proceeded to force through an Act declaring that

> His Maiestie hath the Supream Authority and Supremacie over all persons and in all causes ecclesiasticall . . . the ordering and disposall of the Externall Government and policie of the Church doth propperlie belong to his Maiestie and his Successours As ane inherent right to the Croun.[1]

Sharpe bowed to the storm he had raised, concurred, and induced some of the bishops to do so: others protested, and stayed away. The Council, having got the Act through, expelled Archbishop Burnet from his see.

They had now succeeded in offending all parties except the Moderate Presbyterians: and these (through no fault of their own) were finding that the Council's good intentions had landed them in an unpleasant situation, the targets of abuse and even maltreatment by their own co-religionists. To fill Burnet's place, therefore, presented a problem, the more as he was popular with his own clergy. The Council therefore were at pains to choose the conciliatory Leighton. Leighton refused the preferment, and with vigour. They tried to bribe him with an offer of supporting what he most cared for, the Accommodation, but he still refused. He was therefore sent for to Court. To judge by his dealing with Ken, whom Leighton resembled, it is probable that Charles really liked the Bishop. He could not win Leighton to accept the Archbishopric, but he did induce him to act as Commendator—i.e., to take charge of the province during Burnet's suspension.

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[1] Gilbert Burnet says that Lauderdale got it through by telling the Presbyterians it would keep down the Bishops: if he is right, there was some sharp work going, for Leighton, who voted for it, 'for which he was very sorry as long as he lived,' affirmed that 'ecclesiastical matters' had not appeared in the original bill.

Leighton accordingly went back to Glasgow, dealt firmly with his clergy, investigating complaints and deposing certain unworthy incumbents, and endeavoured to win the friendship of the Indulged. They would not respond. He arranged a conference at Edinburgh, inviting six of the chief Presbyterian ministers. There he brought forward his scheme, defending the lawfulness of the episcopate, since the days of the Apostles, but declaring that he was willing to submit to a reduction of its administrative function to that of Constant Moderator of the synods : as for the sacramental side, its acknowledgment was to be left for conscience, though he reminded them that episcopal ordination would not make them less ministers than they were already. Nothing was decided : the conference adjourned, and he called six Episcopal ministers, all scholars, devout, and moderate in their views (one was Nairne, reputed the finest preacher of his day) and sent them to preach through the South-west. According to a contemporary, the general sympathy of the country was with him, and the refusal of the Presbyterians was likely to turn their more moderate laity to episcopacy. In the South-west however, his preachers had much the effect of a Red orator in Strathpeffer Hydropathic, or a Conservative Member of Parliament at a Communist meeting. Reasoning was irrelevant: emotion was the only force that counted, and they were followed on their tour by some of the most violent of the extremists, who called every change 'a breach of the Covenant, and none durst object.' That desirous drunkenness on violent words, from which Scotland had suffered for a century, still obtained there: no man who would not stir that intoxication, yield his hearers the happy sense of their right to rule, had as yet the smallest chance of being heard.

None the less, Leighton called a fresh conference at Paisley. Thirty Protesters attended. He asked for a spirit of mutual concession for the sake of peace and men's souls, and then put, as crux, the question whether they would have come into communion with the Church at the Council of Nicaea in 325. If not, relations were impossible, but if they accepted the fundamentals of Christianity as expressed in the Nicene Creed, he begged them again to consider the concessions, going further still and offering that if the Dissenters would attend presbyteries and synods they should not be required to give assent to *any* formula as to government, that ordination should be by bishop and presbytery in conjunction, that no oath to the bishop should be required, and that church affairs should be decided by a General Assembly.[1]

This was going very far: it is doubtful whether their acceptance would not have split the Episcopalians, in fact. It is worth noting one point: that clearly the centre of the conflict to at all events the Presbyterian mind was by now not the questions of fundamental doctrine, of Calvinism versus Arminianism, that (with far greater moment and justification, since they really involved completely opposite views of the nature of God and of His relation to man) had been the true issue in 1638, but one of polity. It is true that in fundamentals the Establishment had swung to what earlier had been called the Arminian side. But there is no sign that the Presbyterians objected to the Accommodation on fundamentals: they appear to have been content to take as issue simply the parity of presbyters and (the Protesters at least) the Covenant.

Still there was no conclusion, and Leighton's own communion thought he had gone too far, and abandoned essentials. The Presbyterians also were growing more active. Hitherto Dissent had been a matter of the South-west: now perambulating preachers of the wilder sort appeared in Fife, and held a field conventicle. It was a novelty, and was well attended. In June

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[1] This, if Presbyterian Calvinism had had a majority, would have restored the ecclesiastical constitution of 1639 in a few weeks. Both Leighton and the Protesters, of course, knew it had not.

1670 another met near Dunfermline. The man who had begun the Pentland Rising was present, and some of the congregation appeared in arms and had a skirmish with the local militia. Lauderdale was 'transported almost to fits,' and the Estates, who met next month, were the more alarmed in that the Scots congregation in Rotterdam were giving thanks for it as a victory. They passed what Lauderdale called 'a clanking act' against conventicles. All laymen and non-Indulged ministers were forbidden to preach at any meeting save in their own houses and families,[1] under pain of imprisonment for them and fines for their hearers. As open meetings in the fields tended to rebellion, all who preached to those were punishable by death, and their hearers fined twice the sum due for a house conventicle. The Act was to be in force for three years, unless the King should extend it, which was not likely, as he held that 'bloody laws do no good.' Tweed-dale declared that there was no intention of enforcing it, which is likely enough, as the Government all through this first twenty years of the Restoration had a habit of producing craw-bogle acts they never even attempted to enforce.

In January of 1671 Leighton's Accommodation received its quietus. The Presbyterians met Leighton once more, and refused. He asked them if they had any counter-proposals. None were made. He told them

> My sole object has been to procure peace, and to advance the interests of true religion . . . Perhaps I may have wronged my own order, in making such large concessions: but the un-

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[1] Sermons appear to have been a regular part of family worship.

> erring Discerner of hearts will justify my motives ; and I hope ere long to stand excused with my own brethren. You have thought fit to reject our overtures, without assigning any reason for the rejection, and without suggesting any healing measures in the room of ours. The continuance of the divisions, through which religion languishes, must consequently lie at your door . . . I have done my utmost to repair the temple of the Lord, and my sorrow will not be embittered by compunction, should a flood of miseries hereafter rush in through the gap you have refused to assist me in closing.

It was the last formal attempt at reunion, and thereafter through the 'seventies the breach grew wider. Still there was quiet above Tay : but as has been said, there were threats that trouble might spread from the South-west. The Government adopted a policy of alternate and illogical oppression and concession towards the Extremists, and a new character came unofficially but disastrously on the stage. The Duchess of Lauderdale (Lauderdale now was a duke) died in 1671, and in February 1672 her widower married his mistress Lady Dysart. She had beauty, wit, scholarship, a restless short-sighted ability, and no scruples : it was commonly known that she could twist her husband round her finger . . . and that the direction in which she twisted him depended on what was put in the palm beneath. In short, she was what our age calls a gold-digger : and as she was now the real ruler of Scotland, the unfortunate country found a fresh complication.

There were others. The good Bishop Wishart, who could ill be spared, died in 1671 : his personality had been effective in winning the capital, and though Young, his successor, was a man of courage enough to stand up to abuses of the royal prerogative, he could not fill his place: and emotion was stirring. The Duke of York had been converted to the Roman Church, and declined point-blank to conceal the fact: there were disturbing rumours that Papists might be Indulged as well as Presbyterians: and the non-Indulged of these latter grew ever more violent towards the Indulged. The houses of some of these were ‘ rabbled ’ by zealots of their own faith, who quoted the familiar injunctions of the wars of Canaan: some were wounded and made to swear that they would not officiate, while the saintlier of their flock insisted (according at least to Wodrow, who approves) in prescribing the subjects, treatment, and texts of their sermons.

The early ’seventies brought fresh foreign complications. Scottish political connection with Europe, other than France’s or Holland’s attempts to use the Covenant as an embarrassment for England, had virtually ceased for over a generation. Charles was playing a very complex political game. His shortage of money, enforced to keep him under control of the parliamentary oligarchy, had strangled the Fleet and let the Dutch into the Medway. For that reason, for his own freedom, and no doubt (it is the only reason commonly given) for his own pleasures, he had to have money. Europe was divided into France and her allies on the one hand, Holland and the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs on the other. Charles allied with Sweden and Holland in 1668, to check France, while with the other hand he made with Louis in 1670, the Secret Treaty of Dover. Louis offered him a yearly subsidy of £120,000 to give up the former alliance, make war on Holland, and (when time should serve) declare himself a Catholic. (It did not serve till Charles was on his death-bed.) Charles was thus in a position to strengthen England by keeping both halves of Europe in play. France was the rising power through that generation, trouble with Holland over the advancing English trade was certain to recur, and he probably foresaw that Sweden would make terms with France, as she shortly did. It was, like so much in foreign politics, completely dishonest: it was also, if one did not look too far, sufficiently shrewd, and at the time effective. If Charles's brother had continued it, the Stewarts in fact would not have lost their throne. War with Holland did come in 1672, opened by a piratical English attack, without declaration of war, on a Dutch merchant fleet. The formal declaration was made in March. An English force under the young Duke of Monmouth, the eldest, or second, of Charles's natural sons, joined with the French in invading Holland, where they were opposed with great determination by Charles's nephew, William Prince of Orange, the Stadtholder, then a lad of twenty-one, with a dry and acrid courage and already more than the makings of a soldier. In May there was a fierce action in Southwold Bay, where the Duke of York beat the veteran De Ruyter.

The new Dutch War roused alarm in the Privy

Council: it was only six years yet since the Pentland Rising. The famous Whig preacher Carstares came from Amsterdam, and his papers, captured, showed the Dutch were intriguing for another revolt. The Estates were called for July, and produced a burst of panic legislation: the Conventicle Act was extended for three years, to 1676, children must be baptised by the parish minister, and only those authorised by law could confer ordination.[1]

Then the wheel swung again, probably under pressure from Court. Charles, who had suffered from it in his youth, always disliked religious persecution. He probably wished to relieve the unfortunate Catholics, who had always been loyal: his brother, who sincerely and publicly held that illegal creed, undoubtedly did: and early in the year, on the royal authority, a Declaration of Indulgence had established complete religious freedom in England. In September the Scots Privy Council moved, though more slowly, in the same direction. Some eighty ejected ministers were offered parishes and stipends in the South-west, Argyle, and some parts of Lothian, on the conditions of the First Indulgence—i.e., that they should confine their preaching in subject to religion and in place to their own parishes. As before, the ministers accepted: so did the Presbyterian gentry and most of the Presbyterian members of the educated classes: but the rank and file Whigs of the South-west refused to abandon the old Protester creed, the full Covenant for three kingdoms and nothing less. So soon as a minister accepted the Indulgence, his flock deserted him for field conventicles under fiery orators whose persons had the prestige of illegal adventure and whose sermons were highly spiced with inflammatory politics. As a further weapon against the Indulgence, it was cried again if the King indulged themselves, he might do as much for Papists, which was a thing too terrible to be borne.[1] Leighton, who by the end of the year had been induced to accept the Archbishopric of Glasgow, was so broken-hearted at the constant strife that, worn out, he resigned his see, and went into retirement in an English village, Horsted Keynes in Sussex.

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[1] Rather surprisingly, this parliament produced a stringent sumptuary law ‘ against sumptuousness and prodigality which all kinds of people vse in their apparrell.’ No one is to wear gold or silver tissue or brocade, gold or silver lace, fringe, or embroidery. Silk lace, silk embroidery, and silk brocade are also prohibited under penalty of £1000 Scots, though comedians, heralds, the King's Trumpeters, and servants in livery are exempted as to silk embroidery. Only soldiers may wear feathers. Velvet and satin and beaver hats are restricted to a class which included the higher town officials of Edinburgh, the Rectors of the universities, and their wives, eldest sons, and eldest unmarried daughters: even they may only wear plain taffeta ribbons, and white lace only on their linen. Other people, however, may wear taffeta ribbons so long as they fasten something . . . and servants may wear their mistresses' old clothes!

Left Wing feeling in both countries grew steadily against the Indulgence. In February of 1673 the English Parliament forced Charles to withdraw the

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[1] It is usually said that the Penal Laws against the Roman Church were virtually a dead letter at this time. The truth seems to be that like the Penal Laws against the Protesters, they were enforced spasmodically. In 1672 the Countess of Traquair was threatened with arrest for bringing up her son a Catholic, and Lord Sempill, for sending his heir to college at Douai, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle till he promised to send his younger son to Glasgow.

English one, and next month put through the famous Test Act, which until 1828 excluded from public office and the services all who would not take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, receive the Sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England, and declare against Transubstantiation . . . and though it excluded themselves, the English Dissenters were foremost in pushing it through. Its immediate, and intended, result was to force the Duke of York, one of the best admirals the country possessed, and the virtual creator of a professional navy, to resign from his cherished work the Admiralty, and to bring to a head the question of his heirship. The King had been married for over ten years now, and the Queen had never borne a living child, while Charles refused to divorce her. James, a widower for two years, had two daughters surviving out of his seven children, and both had been brought up as Protestants : but this year he married again, Maria Beatrice d'Este of Modena, young, charming, and a devoted Catholic, whose father was allied with Louis XIV.

Shaftesbury, Dryden's Achitophel, one of the most brilliant political twisters in an age not scant of them, now took a hand. In the name of Protestantism, he was attacking the 'Cabal' ministry : and he carried his war on Lauderdale into Scotland. Lauderdale, by now, was very vulnerable. He had mismanaged the religious question : his wife had intruded her nominees in everything from the Court of Session down, and was supposed to be behind the heavy duties on salt, tobacco, and brandy, that enriched private monopolists. The coinage too was heavily debased, and Lauderdale's brother was Master of the Mint. When the Estates reassembled in November, the Duke found that a party had formed against him, led by Hamilton and his own former associate Tweed-dale, while serious complaints were passing to the King. Alarmed, he prorogued the Estates, which did not meet again till 1681: and till then he was the absolute governor of Scotland.

By now he was unpopular all round. On the one side the Episcopal Establishment had taken root again in fourteen years, and was strong enough to protest more effectively against the intrusion of the royal prerogative across the proper machinery of the Church. In 1674 and 1675 the Bishops of Edinburgh, Dunblane, and Brechin,[1] seconded by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, demanded a National Synod. Archbishop Burnet, now restored to his see, supported them: so did various diocesan synods, Lauderdale feared for his prestige, and Sharpe backed him, the former comparing the movement to the proceedings of 1638. Bishop Ramsay, who had stood up vigorously to Sharpe, his metropolitan, was suspended, and four ministers with him. A court of investigation was formed: Ramsay admitted to desiring a National Synod, also a Catechism, a Liturgy, and a Code of Canons, as the Church had no defined law to which he could appeal. Lauderdale and Sharpe contrived to give the affair the colour of an insurrection, the ministers feared to play into the hands of the Whigs, and the matter died down, but not before it had shown Episcopalian feeling hostile to the Government.

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[1] Dunblane was Ramsay, Leighton's former Dean, and Brechin Laurie, who had been Wishart's.

On the opposite side, the ‘ indulged ’ Moderates saw in the Government their only protection against their own extremists, who were growing bolder. Conventicling increased: even where the churches were in their hands, the extremists preferred the outdoor conventicles, which according to Kirkton became in some parts a kind of popular craze. The women and the young men were especially active, and the conventicles became scenes of wild orgiastic ‘ revivalism,’ with its attendant phenomena. There were brawls between ‘ slashing communicants ’ and the military police, who had behind them the worst possible method of treating a turbulent area—a muddle of harsh laws laxly enforced, whose impact was a matter of sporting chance. In June 1674 heritors and masters were bound to restrain their tenants and servants from conventicling. Whig action had now for spear-head a body of peripatetic field-preachers, whose status and livelihood depended on their popularity with the wilder elements: these went about with armed guards, outbidding each other in violent speech, and could always stir up waning enthusiasm by leading their flocks to rabble the Indulged. In August of 1675 letters of intercommuning were issued against some hundred people, about a score being these ministers, making those who reset the non-Indulged art and part in their offence. Patrols of troops were sent into the disaffected districts, and according to Kirkton men were killed on both sides. All over the South-west, in the late seventies, there seems, in short, to have been a state of affairs that closely resembled the Ireland of 'the Troubles.'

It grew worse. In 1677 the proclamation making heritors and masters responsible was renewed, annoying alike those who sided with the Whigs and those who were threatened with fines for what they disliked but were powerless to prevent: one may guess that the landlord of Davie Deans or Mause Headrigg had a dour crop to shift. By the end of the year the distracted Privy Council were empowered to call out the troops and militia and the Highland feudal array: and in the early spring of the following year 8000 Highlanders were drafted into the South-west, and quartered for some six weeks upon the country. Naturally, there was fiery resentment. They behaved much better than the Black and Tans, or than the Covenanters had done in the Highlands: not a single life was taken, save one of their own. But they felt themselves to be in an enemy country, and were encouraged to do so: they lived at free quarters, and on their withdrawal looted handsomely. Hate would have followed them in any case: they were Gaelic-speaking Gaels (i.e., heathen) and Prelatists (worse than heathen): but the officialised looting of household goods was a fair and genuine grievance, and one specially likely to inflame the women, who as before in 1637, had been active in stirring up the popular feeling.

About the same time another event took place which roused further dislike of Archbishop Sharpe, who more than Lauderdale, was blamed for these things. James Mitchell, who had attempted to murder him in 1668, was taken in 1674, confessed, retracted his confession, and was sent to the Bass. Now, while the Highland Host was in occupation, he was again brought to trial. He pled that he had confessed on promise of mercy: the court declared that the promise had been cancelled by the subsequent retractation. There was some legal quibbling: the Lords of Justiciary refused to produce the record, and Mitchell was hanged. The whole business is obscure: no one doubts the attempt at murder, least of all Mitchell's admirers, then and now. There do seem to have been illegalities at the trial, and Mitchell did think himself unjustly treated, though as any treatment not including the taking of the Covenant by the whole Bench would have been, from his point of view, unjust, one cannot be sure how much that fact may go for. The truth of the affair will never be known, but we can believe it was a bungling business, that ill-feeling was shown, and that—which in practice is what matters—it made Mitchell a martyr in the eyes of his party.

Matters grew worse in the South-west, and sporadic disaffection began to show in Fife and Lothian, even some hints in Perthshire. The party war of Hamilton and Lauderdale had gone on through these years: the latter now tried to win King Charles's favour by a cess of £1,800,000 Scots, nominally for the remodelled militia. The Whigs resisted it, as against their consciences, and soldiers were quartered on the recalcitrant. It is now that John Graham of Claverhouse appears: in November his kinsman Montrose, Commander of the Royal Horse Guards, gave him a troop. He was then about thirty, a professional soldier with a record already distinguished in Dutch service: at Seneff he had saved the life of William of Orange. He was a man of strong character and uncommon personal beauty, the type of devout and upright martinet, not inhumane but lacking the human touch, save towards the wife he married from a Whig house, in defiance of the interests of his career. His opponents made him out a brutal and bloody persecutor[1]: but even they had to acquit him of debauchery, and their legend endows him with an austerely Satanic dignity, as a Prince of Darkness. That he was a devout Episcopalian, as constant in private prayer as any hill Whig, would only serve further to embroider this with a touch of the black splendour of Farinata. In fact, this monster of cruelty made a strong protest against the capital punishment for theft, that most men of his period, and long after, took for granted as a piece of natural justice. He disliked the Westland fanatics as Monk had done, and for a very similar reason : they led the simple country-folk into trouble, and produced a state of general mess and disorder that offended his fastidiousness like a bad smell. He belongs to the classical eighteenth century rather than to the baroque seventeenth. Scott, a man of the anti-classical reaction, does him considerably less than justice : he can sympathise with his pride and devotion to duty (as in the splendid passage upon death) but not with his austere desire for order.

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[1] Shortly after this chapter was written, the writer had the following story from a lady whose mother had been told it by Lady Margaret Hamilton, daughter of the Duke concerned. Macaulay borrowed from the Duke of Hamilton certain family papers concerning Claverhouse. Later, when the Duke asked for them back, he was told, with apologies, that they had been inadvertently destroyed—not until parts had been quoted in the *History*. But the Duke had had them transcribed before the loan, and the transcriptions made clear that the quotations had been badly garbled, to Claverhouse's discredit.

In December of 1678 he was sent to Dumfries, where he grumbled vigorously and fearlessly at the lack of pay and fodder for men and horses, and at the need for quartering on the country. All was unrest there : the armed conventicles spread, and men were drilling. Fierce feuds between Presbyterians worsened feeling : the Whigs denounced all co-religionists who paid cess or sat under the Indulged, and loudly protested their own greater righteousness, while the murder of idolaters—Catholics, Episcopalians, and Indulged Presbyterians—was openly preached : and in April two soldiers were murdered in their beds.

As if the native troubles were not enough, a fresh draught blew from England to fan the smoulder. Through all the autumn of 1678, and much of the next year, the scare of the 'Popish Plot' was raging in London, stirred up by the astonishing Titus Oates—ex-Puritan, ex-clergyman, and ex-Jesuit. It is one of the wildest matters in history, of a craziness beyond imagination. London went into collective insanity. All Protestants, and with much more reason, all Catholics, went in terror of their lives, up to the Queen and the Duke of York themselves, and Shaftesbury and the anti-royal party fanned the flame and made their market of the situation. Oates was the National Saviour. He found thriving imitators, and 2000 Catholics went to prison, including five peers. Many innocent men were put to death: the Lord Chief Justice raved at them in court, shouting at one trial that he was satisfied of the pannels' guilt before any kind of evidence had been led. Parliament even accused the poor little Queen of plotting the death of the husband she somewhat unreasonably adored. The popular temper is summed in a tale of Nell Gwynn, who, a good soul in spite of her lack of morals, had shrewd realism behind her pretty face. As she drove one night, her coach was taken for that of another sultana, the Catholic Louise de Kéroual. Stones flew. Nell lowered the glass, and calmly addressed the mob. 'Don't stone me, good people. I am the *Protestant* w——.' It was cogent reasoning, and they dispersed.

Such a storm of emotion was bound to spread to Scotland. It did: all Catholics were ordered to be disarmed, and one of their very few priests was sent to the Bass. The Whigs raged further. Fresh militia were sent into the South-west, and at the end of February Claverhouse, Johnston of Westerhall, Grierson of Lag, and other local lairds were given commissions as Sheriffs Depute Extraordinar for the summary dispersal of armed conventicles: the district was practically put under martial law.

By the end of April Claverhouse was declaring that one Welsh, a notorious leader of conventicles, was organising an armed rising, and that militia arms had been seized for it: and only a few days later the storm burst. At first it threatened another 1638, and it really was a more serious affair than the Pentland Rising of thirteen years before, for as in 1638, and with more cause, the moderate men had been exasperated into a swing to the Left, and a number of the Indulged Presbyterians, normally peaceful people, had joined the hill Whigs. The rising went to pieces very soon, but the numbers involved were this time formidable, and the signal for explosion on this occasion was not a casual trooper shot full of pipe-clay, but an Archbishop murdered in the open daylight.

On the 3rd May, certain of the wilder Whigs, ‘ men of courage and zeal for the cause of God,’ as their friends later called them, were lurking about Fife, intending to murder Carmichael, the Sheriff Depute: they included two gentlemen, Hackston of Rathillet, at feud with the Archbishop over a law-plea, and Balfour of Kinloch, called Burley, his brother-in-law. To them a lady friend of one of the party sent news that Archbishop Sharpe was driving their way. Declaring that ‘ this was of God,’ they went to meet him, and did so on Magus Muir, not far from St Andrews. For a half-mile they chased him, with alternations of sermons and pistol-shots. He and his daughter then came out from the coach, and they fell on him and despatched him with sixteen wounds, his daughter being also wounded, but not killed. After which, one describes how they went to prayer ‘ with enlargement of heart beyond the ordinary.’

For the next seven weeks of that summer, affairs looked serious for the Government. The Archbishop's murderers got back to the West, and soon had the heather on fire. On the King's Birthday, the 29th of May (a little more than three weeks after the murder) a force of armed Whigs rode into Rutherglen, extinguished the little burgh's loyal bonfires, and burnt copies of the Act Rescissory, the Act establishing Episcopacy, that making the Covenant unlawful, and others, and fixed a declaration to the Market Cross. Then, having called a conventicle at Loudoun Hill, they marched out.

The conventicle, like all of them by now, was as much an armed rendezvous as a meeting for preaching. Claverhouse came on it on the 1st of June, at Drumclog, and found the Whigs in force in a strong position between bogs and lochs. He assesses them at four battalions of foot and three squadrons of horse, much outnumbering his own patrol. There was a sharp fight. Claverhouse's charger, stuck in the belly by a pitchfork, got out of control and bolted, which, he reports,

> so disin[c]oroged our men that they sustined not the shok but fell into disorder.

The casualties were small : even counting Royalist prisoners pistolled to follow the precedent of Israel, Claverhouse seems only to have lost thirty-six, and only six or seven were killed of the Whigs.

Nevertheless, it was frank civil war again, and for three weeks it looked to be touch and go whether the 'forties might not be returning. Claverhouse fell back on Glasgow,[1] where Lord Ross barricaded the streets. On the 3rd, the Covenanters attacked the town, expecting to find support, but were driven off. Ross was then ordered to fall back on Stirling. He joined Lord Linlithgow at Larbert, where they had between them some 1800 men and no guns, and learned that between six and seven thousand Covenanters had occupied Glasgow.

The Council were mobilising the militia, and the King despatched Monmouth with a few battalions of regulars. For a fortnight the Covenanters remained in Glasgow, unmolested by their enemies. During that fortnight they lost their war. As has been said, a number of moderate Presbyterians, of the type of Scott's Henry Morton, had joined them for the reasons that had brought the Moderates alongside the Left in 1638. The extreme Left counted them 'a snare upon Mizpah, a net spread upon Tabor:' the feelings of the Moderates were hurt. Welsh's men from Carrick were accused of admitting the supremacy of the civil power, and counter-accused their accusers, headed by Robert Hamilton, who had led at Drumclog, of wanting supremacy themselves. Moderate ministers were aggrieved because the hotter laity dictated their sermons: those of ‘ the honest party,’ like Mucklewrath, omitted ‘ not a single topic that had offence in it ’ for their fellow insurgents, and declared that those who sat under the Indulged were mere Malignants, or very little better. The two parties did unite sufficiently to deface the Cathedral and the Archbishop’s Palace, but when it came to producing the inevitable manifesto, they split once more. The Indulged composed one of their own: the Honest Party attacked it fiercely and demanded that they should condemn the Indulgence—i.e., their own policy for the last ten years: on the second Sunday there was a fight for the pulpits. Further trouble arose, as before Dunbar, about officers. The Moderates wanted the more capable men, the godly the more pious, demanding a purge.

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[1] Then a remarkably beautiful town of about 12,000 inhabitants—not much more than half the size of the present Stirling, or about as big as the present-day Montrose.

On this situation, Monmouth arrived at Bothwell, and offered parley. They demanded an amnesty for all in arms, and a free Parliament and Assembly. ‘ Free ’ of course meant in the Covenanting sense: that is, with the franchise restricted to Covenanters. Monmouth, who had not known the ’forties, and who was an Englishman, took ‘ free ’ at face value, as most historians do (it is a word apt to hypnotise the hearer out of demanding to know its definition) and allowed the demand for just: but they must lay down their arms.

They refused, being ‘ strong in the Lord,’ so strong that they had brought a cart of new ropes, and placed them convenient to the local gallows. In fact, Monmouth, who was no soldier, was asking for a serious defeat. Clyde lay between the forces, and the Covenanters' was not merely the larger, but held the long narrow bridge, with a gate in its middle and houses commanding it from the Covenant side. From eyewitnesses' accounts, of both their factions, the Whigs had good reason to hope for victory. Russell, one of Sharpe's murderers, puts the Royalists at 2300, the Covenanters at five to six thousand. Ure, a Moderate, gives the latter 4000 foot and 2000 horse. Each accuses the other faction of cowardice. Certainly, the Covenanters did not stand: there was a small but lively fight on the bridge, the Royalists carried it, and there was a Covenanting *sauve qui peut*—less, undoubtedly, in spite of the mutual accusations, from cowardice than from lack of effective leadership or cohesion. According to the official report, the Covenant horse broke,

> leaving their flying foot to the mercy of our army, who pursewd them with all diligence and zeall, and have killd some hundreds of them and taken many hundreds prisoners.

The second Whig rising was over. There was no Newark courtyard or Dunaverty, and the captured cartload of ropes was not put to use: but some 1200 prisoners were herded, at first in the open, in Greyfriars Kirkyard, as Cromwell had treated the Highlanders after Worcester.[1] Seven, including two ministers, were hanged. At the end of July, Monmouth, who had gone back to London, represented to his father that 'this madness of field conventicles' proceeded from severity towards the much less dangerous ones indoors. He was almost certainly right to some extent, for the size and setting of the open-air ones gave them far more psychological effect. Charles agreed, at least: he put forth a third Indulgence, enforcing the law against field conventicles but permitting those indoors, save in or near Edinburgh, St Andrews, Glasgow, or Stirling. This, of course, popularised the field ones further, as no true Whig would now go to one under a roof. On the 27th July he issued an indemnity, speaking of those 'who poisoned the people with principles inconsistent with true piety and all human society, as well as with our royal government.' With certain exceptions, pardon was offered to all who would undertake to live peaceably. Some 800 of the prisoners accepted.[1] The remaining 300 or so considered that to do so was 'a foul compliance,' and were deported to the Plantations: but 200 were drowned when their ship went down in a storm.

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[1] About 140 escaped, either by climbing the wall, or, after hutments had been provided, by dressing as women, and simply walking out.

The affair shook Lauderdale, but he still might have stood. The repercussions of the Popish Plot brought him down. England was rent over the Exclusion Question—whether the Duke of York should be barred from succession in favour of his elder daughter, now the wife of her cousin-german the Stadtholder. (A word that by now had become important in Scotland passed into England and spread to its later meaning. The anti-York party there had begun as Petitioners, that for the King and the Duke as the Abhorrers : these latter caught up the word *Whig*, then very much ‘ in the news,’ for their opponents, who retaliated with the Irish *Tory*, a bandit, and the two names lasted into the nineteenth century . . . although, apart at least from eloquence, neither Shaftesbury nor the elder Pitt bears a very strong resemblance to Sandy Peden.) The Duke of York stuck staunchly to his religion, and was forced in consequence to leave the country. His brother allowed him to go to Edinburgh. There he allied with Lauderdale’s opponents : the efficiency of a capable sailor and first rate civil servant would hardly admire the administration of Lauderdale, and still less that of his Duchess. Lauderdale, shaken already, went down at last, and died, stripped of place and pensions, in 1682, much unregretted.

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[1] Some argued (according to Wodrow at any rate, and he clearly approves of the process of reasoning) that the rising was not against the *King's* authority, and therefore the bond did not bind them from a fresh one.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CAMERONIANS

FOUR YEARS AND EIGHT MONTHS : JUNE 1680–FEBRUARY 1685

> And can you doubt our principles,' answered Burley, ' since we have stated them to be the reformation both of Church and State, the rebuilding of the decayed sanctuary, the gathering of the dispersed saints, and the destruction of the Man of Sin? ' . . .
>
> ' Who speaks of mercy? ' asked Mucklewrath . . . ' I say take the infants and dash them against the stones ; take the daughter and the mother of the house and hurl them from the battlements of their trust, that the dogs may fatten on their blood as they did on that of Jezebel the spouse of Ahab. . . .'
>
> ' He speaks right,' said more than one sullen voice from behind.
>
> Sir Walter Scott, *Old Mortality*.

It was now twenty years from the Restoration, and after the fiasco of the Rising, matters seemed once more in train to settle down. The greater part of the kingdom had been as completely untouched by the disturbance as by the rising of 1666. The revolt had involved, on its own testimony, no more than 0.6 *per cent.* of the whole population, or allowing for non-combatant sympathisers, say 2%. North of Tay, a part of which we read little in the majority of accounts of this time, ecclesiastical matters had moved steadily but quietly to the Right, towards much the old Arminian position, except in points of ceremonial. (One observes that in February of 1680 the Privy Council gave licence to use the Prayer-book in families, and a contemporary remarks that many copies were sold in Edinburgh, though the movement was certainly strongest in the North-east.) Aberdeen, as before, led the way, under the sober piety of Scougal: what Gilbert Burnet calls 'his endearing gentleness to all that differed from him, his great strictness in giving Orders, his unaffected humility and contempt of the world' had a strong effect, and through his connection with the Universities (he was Chancellor of King's) did much to form a rising generation. The general interest of churchmanship in the North was away from questions of polity and towards the fundamental matters of doctrine and the general practice of the Christian life. There was a movement, headed by James Gordon, minister of Banchory-Devenick, for the clarifying of Church doctrine by a Catechism and a Code of Canons, for the forming of its practice by a gradual revival of liturgical worship, and for greater ecclesiastical freedom from the civil power, so that, in Gordon's own phrase, there should be 'neither bishops ejected nor presbyters despised nor people oppressed.' Unluckily he allowed himself to press for reforms with injudicious vigour and too much of frank personal criticism, and got into trouble even with his gentle Bishop: but many, especially of the younger men, agreed with him in his general position. He also preached the uselessness of persecution as a means to the conversion of schismatics: in this he was ahead of his day, for though such Presbyterians as were in the Northern diocese lived at peace, Catholics and Quakers both suffered: the latter, one must remember, were still at this time addicted to wild symbolic demonstrations, and though Scougal had no wish to harry them, the people of his city forced him to it.

Further south, the situation was more complex. There was, of course, a considerable body of Episcopalians even west of Clyde: but the main interest for the historian of the next decade, south of Tay, is still the Presbyterians. The past twenty years had deepened and widened the breach between their parties, who had been represented in 1660 by those Resolutioners who had refused the restored Establishment, and by the Protesters. These were succeeded on the one hand by those who had accepted the Indulgences and who formed a sort of state-recognised and state-endowed Dissenting Church, and on the other by the Whigs of the field conventicles (organised now in formal Praying Societies) who held the full creed of 1643, with the Solemn League and Covenant for its centre, and considered that to demand anything less than the civil supremacy and ecclesiastical uniformity of Presbyterian Calvinism for the three kingdoms was a betrayal of 'the Crown Rights of Christ.' There was also a vague but considerable body that swayed from one of these parties to the other, as their emotions reacted to rhetoric, the persecutions of the Privy Council, or, as in the last rising, a personal experience of the Whigs.

Bothwell Brig had disillusioned many of this group, and increased the hostility between those who wished to secure the freedom granted them from persecution, and those who wished freedom to persecute everyone else. Their politics also differed. The Whigs wished a republic, or rather presbyterocracy : the Moderates retorted that ' never any among the prelates pretended to more authority ' than did the Whigs, and were of a moderate royalism, accepting a distinction between the ecclesiastical power and the civil. It is one of the tragedies of our history that the Moderates should have been forced, as the Privy Council grew more alarmed, to suffer alike for the sins of their fathers in the sixteen-forties and the fifteen-nineties and for the excesses of their own extremists . . . who at this point produced, to the chuckling joy of the unregenerate, the sect of the Sweet Singers, a number of ' serious, exercised, tender, zealous, gracious souls '—so are they called by a pious contemporary—who much to the indignation of their husbands, left home to follow the sailor Muckle John Gibb, tear the psalms and chapter-headings from their Bibles, and practice a form of public auricular (and competitive) confession, on lines familiar in a more modern sect.

The years that followed Bothwell Brig defined the schism in Presbyterianism. The name *Whig* was coming to be used for Presbyterians in general : the extreme Left were now known as Cameronians, from the young man who late in 1679 arrived to be their leader. This was one Richard Cameron, who during the revolt had been in Holland, where he had shown ' a savoury Gospel spirit,' and was therefore ordained and sent across to rally ' the faithful remnant.' (The Moderates of his own communion grumbled at his 'lame ordination,' as not being to a specific place, and therefore following 'prelatick principles.') He found 'the honest party' reduced to one active minister, Donald Cargill. To them he preached a renewal of civil war, and commended political assassination, on the precedent of that godly exercised woman, the resourceful Jael. To preaching he added encouraging prophecy. The Lord would set up a sign against Antichrist, that starting in Scotland should go to the gates of Rome, wherefore blood should be their sign and their word No Quarter. These were doctrines of joy to the Societies, where they were discussed (in surroundings like the skirts of Ben Screel or Cairntable or the wild hill tracks by Cairnsmuir of Carsphairn) with zeal but also with a strict attention to all the formal ritual of debate—Preses, Secretary, minute-book, and the rest.

Soon an associate of his, carrying missionary labours into Fife, got into trouble with the authorities, and in his pocket was found a document commonly known as the Queensferry Paper: Cargill's own followers later gave him credit for it. It 'declares before the world what are the designs' that the Cameronians 'proposed to pursue.' Like all Cameronian manifestos it is immensely wordy, filling four large double-columned pages of very small close type—and one single sentence fills a column of this. Its gist is the intention to establish a commonwealth on strict Mosaic lines, except as regards divorce and polygamy, concerning which they are less consistent than Milton. The Church of God must be established under presbyterial government, not exercised ‘ in a carnal manner by plurality of votes,’ but according to the Word of God. ‘ The greatest part by far ’ of their own ministers do not follow this : but they must overthrow prelacy and the power that upholds it, and execute God’s judgment on all opposed to their beliefs. If the sitting government refuse to agree,

> we shall look on it as declaring war, and take all the advantages that one enemy doth of another, and seek to cause to perish all that shall assault us.

This was on the 3rd June. On the 22nd, just a year after Bothwell Brig, Cameron, Cargill, and nineteen other men rode into Sanquhar, and after psalm-singing affixed a paper to the Market Cross. Claiming to be ‘ a remnant in whom the Lord will be glorious ’ and speaking as ‘ the true Presbyterian kirk and Covenanted nation of Scotland,’ they announced as ‘ one of the Lord’s great controversies against us ’ that none had yet disowned ‘ him who (it is true so far as we know) is descended from the race of our kings : ’ they therefore did so, and declared

> a war with such a tyrant and usurper and all the men of his practice, and far more against such as would betray or deliver up our free and reformed mother-kirk unto the bondage of Antichrist the Pope of Rome.

—i.e., the Episcopalian Establishment, who objected to Rome as fervently as they did.

There is something rather magnificent about it : such casts of the gauntlet by a small resolute band have been not infrequent in our history . . . nor have they always ended in swift collapse. There was one such in the year 1306 : and Montrose set forth not with Cameron's twenty men, but with a tenth of that number. If the Privy Council were something more than amused, they were not without a precedent of reason. Troops were sent out, and exactly a month later, on the 22nd July, the Cameronians were defeated in a sharp little skirmish, at Aird's Moss, near Auchinleck. Cameron was killed, and his head and hands sent to Edinburgh : seven or eight others also fell, and Hackston of Rathillet, who had stood by ' with his cloak about his mouth ' to watch the lengthy process of Sharpe's murder, was taken and executed. Cargill remained as leader of the Societies, and preached a crusade : pamphlets were circulated, justifying rebellion and assassination, and in September he formally excommunicated the King, the Dukes of York, Monmouth, and Rothes, with Dalziel of Binns and Sir George MacKenzie of Rosehaugh, who as Lord Advocate had been in charge of the proceedings against Rathillet. Copies of his oration were subsequently affixed to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh. There was renewed disturbance, some murders, including that of a Cameronian who had renounced the Queensferry Paper, and a few hangings. These included in January two women, Isobel Allison and Marion Harvie : the women had been very active ever since 1637 on the side of the Extreme Left, and presented the authorities with a formidable problem. These had proclaimed the lawfulness of murdering the

King and Archbishop Sharpe (who had been murdered, with a woman art and part in the affair) but a formal and public death for one's principles does much to commend them to the warm-hearted and irrational.[1]

Cargill was caught in July 1681, and declared before the Council that if the Lord gave a call to a private man to kill, he might do so lawfully, with Jael and Phinehas as precedent. He was executed with five others on the 27th, and the Cameronians were left leaderless until two years later, when James Renwick lifted up their flag once more, and brought about what is known as the Killing Time. But Cameron's brief career had its effect. The reprisals after Bothwell Brig had not been severe, and soon had given way to lenience. Cameron's murder campaign had scared the Government out of that mood . . . and his peaceful co-religionists were not grateful. One of them blames the Sanquhar Declaration, in fact, on Papist *agents provocateurs*,[2] and in 1681 records that

> Its reported that severalle of the speeches of the last dying persons on scaffolds at Edinburgh have been penned by Papists and put out in their [the Cameronians'] names to make the Protestant religion odious to the world and that they have a great hand in stirring up these men and women to their foperies and follies, that thereby our religion may be contemned.

How the Cameronians would enjoy this charge against their savoury professors may be imagined. It is odd to read these things and to recall what capital the Moderates, once in power, made of the sufferings of these same Cameronians.

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[1] Another woman, Christian Fyfe, was later condemned but pardoned as insane. She duly appears as a Covenant martyr, however.

[2] He might have said Dutch. All through this twenty-eight years Holland was playing to the Whigs the part of Moscow to the modern Communist, or England to Knox and the earlier Reformers.

The day after Cargill's execution the last Scots Parliament of Charles II opened its session. The High Commissioner was the heir to the throne: and during his residence in Edinburgh the Duke, who played an excellent game of golf, his pretty young Duchess and his seventeen-year-old daughter, had all been popular: Anne, to her death, retained an affection for Scotland. On the 13th August two acts were passed. One ratified acts securing 'the liberty of the true Kirk of God,' and all 'against Popery:' the other, to which it was the complement, affirmed that no difference in religion could forfeit the right of succession to the Throne, and thus threw down the gauntlet to the English Whigs, who were fiercely demanding that the Duke should be excluded. The challenge, however, was followed by an adoption of English precedent, bad in itself and made worse in the following. On the 31st August there was passed a Test Act, directed equally against Papists and 'all Phanatick Separatists from this National Church.' All parish ministers were bidden to furnish an annual list of Papists and other nonconformists—i.e., to choose between identifying themselves to their flock with a persecuting government and, being officials of a State Church, breaking the law of the land. And all persons except the King's lawful brother and sons had to take an oath at their entry into any office, binding them to profess the true religion as defined by the Confession of 1567 (i.e., the Reformation Confession of 1560, q.v. *The Scotland of Queen Mary*, p. 108), to renounce all things inconsistent with it, accept the royal supremacy in all things ecclesiastical and civil,[1] and declare it unlawful to enter into covenants or leagues or rise in arms against the government.

The Test roused a storm in all quarters. The Confession had become so obsolete that none even of the Bishops had ever read it, until the Act was passed: when it was read, it was equally repugnant to Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and its inconsistencies were manifest. Sir James Dalrymple, the Lord President, refused the oath and was deposed. Argyle, the son of Gillespie Gruamach, and like Dalrymple a supporter of Lauderdale, protested against the royal family being excepted, but took it himself with the qualifying clause 'as far as it is consistent with itself or the Protestant religion.' 'The Dukes of Guile and Lords for Lorn' were not popular: his enemies saw their chance, and he was charged with leasing-making (language likely to bring the Government into disrepute) and arrested: but by an ingenious trick of his plucky step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay, he escaped, first to London and then to Holland.[2] He was condemned to death *in absentia*.

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[1] It is commonly said that this clause was inconsistent with the Confession: but that affirms that 'Conservatioun and purgatioun of the Religioun appertenis to Kingis Princis rewlaris and magistratis.'

[2] It is thought that (the more as the King knew of his whereabouts in London but would not molest him) the charge was merely made in order that he might be forfeited and restored with his vast power a trifle clipped.

The Church was in revolt, led by gentle old Bishop Scougal: the ministers of his diocese of Aberdeen sent a formal, detailed, and elaborate protest against the Test, as their predecessors had done against the Covenant in 1638, and like those applied a disconcerting logic. Indeed, that diocese and those of Dunkeld and the Isles struck altogether, and only took the Test in the long run after a most elaborate qualification, that contradicted nearly every clause: even then some eighty Episcopal clergy resigned their charges rather than take it. The Presbyterians also objected, both Moderates and Extremists. So, naturally, did the Catholics. Even the High School watchdog declined, they say, to swallow it anointed with fresh butter. Never in all the history of Scotland has an Act of Parliament been so broadly misliked. When the Cameronians, in January, burnt its text ceremonially at Lanark, they expressed, for once, the views of the nation at large.

Quem Deus vult perdere, prius indurat, however. A new Government came into power in May: Gordon of Haddo (later first Earl of Aberdeen) succeeded Rothes as Chancellor, and Queensberry became Treasurer. Both were Duke's men, and obstinately devoted to the Test: and repeating the folly of their predecessors, they lumped together the crazy Whigs of the Societies and the law-abiding Presbyterians who were content to sit peaceably under their own ministers, without meddling with their neighbours. Claverhouse, now made Sheriff of Wigton, was sent to crush disaffection in the South-west, and ordered to deal with all who absented themselves from the parish kirk, attended conventicles, or reset rebels. He carried out his instructions *more suo*, protesting vigorously to Queensberry that

> to put lawes severly against great and small in excicution . . . is very just: but what effects does that produce but mor to exasperat and alienat the hearts of the wholl body of the people; for it renders three desperat wher it gains on[e]; . . . in the greatest crymes it is thoght wysest to pardon the multitud and punish the ringleaders.

Later he says

> It will be mor of consequence to punish on[e] considerable laird than a hundred litle bodys. Beseids, it is juster, because these only sin by the example of those.

Accordingly, he dealt firmly with those who officered rebellion, with fines, quartering of troops, and bonds for peace: but as for the rank and file, he summoned them together, and in the phrase of the Bench, admonished them, in good round terms. He had uphill work at first, grumbling

> We will be no sooner gon but in coms the ministers . . . Ther ar som of them, doe what they lyk, they cannot keep the preachers from their houses in their absence, so made ar som of their wyfes.

He persevered, however: and possibly 'som of their wyfes' may have been mollified by 'the toss of the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.' At all events, the district quieted down, and if let alone, might have stayed so. In March 1683, Claverhouse, the man on the spot and no fool, was assuring the Council they need fear no rising, and (he was the last man to leave his duty) permitted himself a journey into England.

The Council chose this occasion to put into practice, over his head, a number of Circuit Courts, to last three years, for the purpose of dealing with ‘ open and notour rebels.’ These new courts harassed the country vexatiously, investigating with almost the minuteness of a Covenanting kirk-session, and enforcing a most inconvenient system of passes for any journey of over three miles.[1] They were specially charged to look for unlicenced preachers, and see that the Indulged kept the terms of the Indulgence, of not animadverting upon politics : and the provisions of the Test Act were extended so that it could be put to anyone over sixteen—i.e., of military age, thus making it the same kind of general test of right to citizenship as the Covenant had been in the sixteen-forties. The explosion this summer of the English Rye House Plot, to murder the King and his heir, did not make matters any easier, as a number of Scots Whig gentlemen were concerned, among them being Argyle, the minister Carstares, who was a personal friend of the Prince of Orange, and Baillie of Jerviswood. Carstares was captured in England, sent to Edinburgh, and being put in the thumbscrews confessed to knowing of the murder plot, but declared that he merely wanted ‘ to rectify the government.’ The rest of the matter makes it clear that this meant bringing over William of Orange, so it is surprising that he was not hanged : he had already, as a Dutch agent, been imprisoned for five years. He was now released, and went to Holland, to return with William in 1688.

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[1] This was meant for the peripatetic Cameronian orators : but anyone who had ever seen the country might have realised that the only folk it would hamper were peaceful subjects on their lawful occasions.

The natural result of the Circuit Courts was a fresh burst of Cameronian activity. In 1683 James Renwick, a lad of twenty, came over from Holland, and gathered the party again : his associates in that country had been the men concerned in the Rye House Plot. On 28th October 1684 he published his manifesto, *An Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication*, repeating the principles of Queensferry and Sanquhar, rather more briefly, though it covers a large page of very small type. It professes to 'detest and abhor the hellish principle of killing all who differ in judgment from us,' but declares also that 'whosoever stretcheth forth their hands against us' (as defined in a long catalogue that includes all soldiers and government officials and 'all viperous and malicious bishops and curates—' *i.e.*, all bishops and curates—and all who give evidence against any Cameronian) are 'enemies to God and punishable as such,' and affirms that the Cameronians

> will not be so slack-handed in time coming to put matters in hand as heretofore we have been, seeing we are bound faithfully to maintain our Covenant and the cause of Christ.

As even the slackhanded maintenance of these had already involved murder, this was a challenge. It is the Presbyterian lawyer Fountainhall who records that by December the Renwickites

> keep mock courts of justice and cite any they judge their inveterate enemies to them, and lead probation and condemn them and afterwards murder them.

He may imply an exaggeration in the number of 'executions:' but certainly by then a couple of soldiers had been shot in their beds, and on the 11th of December the parish minister of Carsphairn was called out and shot at the door of his own manse. A few days later a band of 100 Cameronians, the minister's murderers among them, raided Kirkcudbright, seized what arms they could find, and rode off. Claverhouse, now returned to the district, went after them and caught them at Brig of Dee: five were killed and three captured, but the rest got clear.

The fat by now was merrily in the fire. At once after the first murder the Council had ordered that anyone refusing to abjure Renwick's Declaration was guilty of treason, and should be summarily shot before two witnesses, though as a qualifying clause the courts were bidden 'not to examine any women but such as have been active in the said courses in a signal manner' and enacted that if any were given a capital sentence it should be by drowning, which was considered more decent than the rope.[1] This enactment, as the previous page makes clear, was considerably better justified than many of their proceedings. No religious issue was involved in the oath of abjuration, whose text is

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[1] The English penalty for a woman guilty of treason was burning: there was a case two years later. An English murderess was hanged: so, and much later, was an English thief of either sex whose theft was of more than the value of 5/-.

> I, A.B., doe hereby abhorre, renunce, and disowne in presence of the Almighty God the pretended declaratione of warr lately affixed at severall paroch churches in so far as it declares a warr against his sacred Majesty and asserts that it is lawfull to kill such as serve his Majestie in church, state, army or country.

The whole 'Killing Time' turns on that oath. The wilder preachers denounced it as an infringement of 'the Crown Rights of Christ': and their followers died with a blind and resolute courage before they would renounce the right to murder . . . though they did not, to be sure, die in such numbers as popular fiction and guide-books often assume.

All through the winter of 1684-5 this state of things sprawled and smouldered in the South-west. Then on the 5th February Charles II died, and the throne of three kingdoms passed for a brief while to his brother James, Duke of Albany and York, a Catholic, as firm as Renwick in his own creed. As accessions go, it was not an auspicious one.

CHAPTER XIV

THE LAST STEWART KING

THREE YEARS AND FOUR MONTHS: FEBRUARY 1685–JUNE 1688

> I labour for peace, but when I speak to them thereof they make them ready for battle.
>
> *Psalm* cxx, 6.

JAMES was more Bourbon than Stewart: what he inherited upon the sword side was chiefly his father's obstinacy and lack of political *tact des choses possibles*. Outside politics, however, he was no fool. Wellington praised his military writings, and he made and while he had control maintained an efficient navy, and led it well in action. As a fighting officer, in high but not supreme command, as a responsible and devoted civil servant, he was almost wholly admirable. As a king among complex and stormy politics he failed less through his faults as a man than through his virtues, some of which were indeed virtues in a king, but virtues inexpedient at the time. Charles, who was an expert and accomplished liar, had the charm of frankness, and James had it not: he had a certain proud and angular honesty that already had refused the small concession to appearances, of being present at worship in the Royal Chapel, that would have saved him when his succession seemed in jeopardy. He preferred, at forty, rather to leave his beloved Admiralty and go into exile: and the honesty was counted, in his disfavour. Now, he would not take a subsidy from France, as his brother had done: and the lack of funds was to cripple him very badly. He had, in his younger life, been profligate: that was, and is, remembered, and it appears to be an added offence that he chose his mistresses for brains, not looks. It is less remembered that having got Anne Hyde 'into trouble' he insisted on marrying her, against not only his family but hers, faced down ugly (and unfounded) scandal against her, and forced her full recognition as Duchess of York. He had become a Catholic in middle life, at first from her influence and intellectual conviction, then with a genuine and profound devotion that caused him to rank three crowns as less than his faith. But as with so many converts, his fervour had in it something of priggishness: he shows the touch of the arbitrary pedant that is in both his father and his grandfather, and like his father lacked humour to leaven it. Though he cared more for the welfare of his kingdoms than his brother had done, he held what was by now the old-fashioned conception of a patriarchal or paternal kingship: and the paternity, with real devotion, had what our age would call a Victorian colour, that prevented its good intentions from being endearing. And against him were the inevitable oligarchies that all Stewarts had had to contend with since Robert II. In England they were men of a vast wealth, supple political skill, and no kind of scruples. In Scotland he had at the opening of his reign less opposition than his father or grandfather, for the hostile nobles now were less numerous than a hundred or eighty or fifty years before, the actively hostile church was only the Cameronians, who represented something like one per cent of the nation: the country generally, if not enthusiastic, was at least perfectly willing to accept him. His overthrow came from England and from Holland, and not until it had been accomplished in England did his Scottish enemies make real head.

He was now fifty-two, and older than his age in mind and body, for he had been pitchforked, in his early childhood, into war, intrigue, imprisonment, poverty, and humiliation, and grown too early to manhood among these. He knew Scotland a little at first hand, and with more pleasant memories than his brother, and Scotland had understood and liked him a good deal better than England ever did. But his situation was a difficult one: he came to the throne at a time when his co-religionists in England were barely emerging from a severe persecution that had sent many innocent men, some of them even in high place, to death: in Scotland for more than a century and a quarter they had, though consistently loyal to the Crown for the second half of that time, been virtual outlaws. He felt they looked to him, their King, for help. And in Scotland men who hated them to the death, as they loudly announced, whose leaders only a year or two before had been concerned in a plot to murder him, were proclaiming it Christian duty to murder his servants.

For a man with a strong and too fearless sense of duty, a Stewart craving for unity and peace, an inflexible mind and a fighting sailor's sense of discipline—for such a man, meshed in home and foreign intrigue, the wonder is he lasted for three years.

It was held an ill omen that he was crowned with shorn rites. The English rite retained the mediaeval likeness to ordination, and like that was and is embedded in a celebration of the Communion. This had to be omitted, thus emphasising to the imagination that James did not belong to the state religion of which by his office he was the lay head. In Scotland his coronation was delayed, and eventually it never took place at all, nor has any sovereign been crowned in our country since.

His first act towards Scotland was on the lines of his brother's preferences, which, in spite of enemy tradition, he seems really to have shared. He tried to cure the disturbances by a policy of generosity, proclaiming, on the 2nd March, an Indemnity for all rebels except those guilty of actual murder. If the Cameronians had merely been fighting for freedom, it might have had some effect: as they were avowedly fighting for the right to frustrate freedom for anyone else, it had not. Before many weeks were past the Council were restoring repressive measures (for whose necessity, of course, they must bear part, though only part, of the blame) and instituting military courts for the summary trial of rebels and their resetters, the former of whom, if taken in arms, were to be shot at sight. Refusal to abjure Renwick's Declaration as to politico-religious murder also involved shooting. The proceedings against resetters were inevitable: it was impossible to deal with men 'on the run' when their technically law-abiding friends and women-folk supplied them with food, shelter, and information: but looked at (as it commonly is) from the other side, it seemed gross cruelty that parents or wives or children should be fined or imprisoned for sheltering men in danger. The dilemma arises in all civil wars, and always makes difficulty for the government, first-rate propaganda for the opposition, and much human drama of hardship and heroism where the ultimate issues at stake fall out of sight. The fact that Burley was a murderer does not lessen the gallant courage of Bessie Maclure, nor of the child who acts as Morton's guide.

The next three months are those known as the Killing Time. Two observations fall to be made here. First, modern historians, and novelists, are apt to be decidedly vague on the matter of abjuring the Declaration. Men were shot not for refusing to take the Test, not for affirming theological points or desiring any special mode of worship or upholding the parity of presbyters, but for refusing to affirm that the murder of Episcopalian ministers or of the King's servants was unlawful. To be sure that refusal was then, and has since, been made a point of religion: in the Reverend Alexander Smellie's *Men of the Covenant*, published within this century, and a classic, the Declaration 'was a fringe of Christ's royal robe, and in their hands no harm, however apparently trifling, must befall the seamless vesture of the Monarch.' He is right, of course: it was regarded, like the Covenant itself, as having the same literal infallibility as the Scripture: but one may feel a certain sense of surprise at finding that a modern minister who without doubt, as an historian of the time, must have read one of its major documents, should adopt the seventeenth century position and seek to inculcate it in his readers also. Indeed, we may grant much courage to the refusers: but as for reason, to identify approval of murder (and murder by no means theoretical) with the fundamentals of Christianity is an ethic that hardly passes the Kantian test.

The other point is that the extent of the killings has been rather markedly exaggerated. After 1690 the business was, and is, used for propagandist purposes by those moderate Presbyterians who at the actual time were at daggers drawn with the Westland Whigs who suffered. Defoe credits Claverhouse with over a hundred deaths: modern fiction suggests a general massacre. His own point of view was

> I am as sorry to see a man day [die], even a Whig, as any of them selfs; but when on[e] days justly for his owne faults and may save a hondred to fall in the lyk, I have no scrupull.

But even on these principles, the total number of deaths for which he was directly or indirectly responsible is ten. This includes five of the Kilmarnock raiders, killed in action at the skirmish at Brig of Dee, after having looted a government arms depot: their party included the men who had shot a minister in cold blood at his own house door. The others included the famous case of John Brown, over whose death, as recorded in popular fiction, many readers of this book will have wept, as did its writer, in their schooldays. He was shot on the 1st May 1685: the popular story (touched up by Macaulay in 1855 with freshly invented and most felicitous detail) derives selectively from Sheilds, Walker, and Wodrow, whose versions do not very closely agree: Wodrow, for instance, says that Brown was a famous preacher of 'singular talent,' Walker gives him an impediment in his speech. Actually, he had fought at Bothwell Brig, was one of those exempted from the subsequent indemnity, and not merely refused to abjure Renwick's Declaration but was found in possession of arms (he had denied this) and treasonable papers, whereat Claverhouse, according to the law, 'caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly.'

In the other most celebrated instance of martyrdom there was less justification for the government if the prisoners really died, which is not certain: it is certain that if they were in fact put to death it was not the government who was to blame. This is the matter of the Wigton Martyrs. In the middle of last century it was hotly debated, at very great length and with more heat than light, by Mark Napier and Dr Archibald Stewart: each combatant tried to prove a great deal too much, and neither showed scruple in forcing evidence. Wodrow in the eighteenth century tells the tale in circumstantial and moving detail: he also gives, with no less convincing detail, an account of a lady who rose in the air and flew up and down the garden, ending gravely with 'the matter of fact is certain.' Walker, also in the eighteenth century, also gives detail—rather different detail: he also recounts how in 1686 there were

> showers of bonnets, hats, guns, and swords which covered the trees and ground . . . Those who saw them told what works the guns had . . . and what handles the swords had, whether small or three-barred or Highland guards, and the closing knots of the bonnets, black or blue.

As for earlier evidence, there is a reference to the execution in 1690: but it states that the prisoners were put to death without trial, and we do know definitely that they were tried. It is fair to add that in two pamphlets of 1686 and 1687 there are allusions, without names, to a case of drowning: and there is no trace anywhere of any other condemnation to it. In 1711 the Kirk-sessions of Kirkinner and Penninghame record the case as a matter of oral tradition: their versions differ from each other and from known fact.

It is certain that two women were *condemned*, in the terms of the Council's decreit above (p. 253) to drowning: the only instance in which it was applied. One was an old woman, Margaret Lauchlison, the other, Margaret Wilson, a girl of eighteen, the daughter of an Episcopalian farmer, who with her younger brother and sister had been fired by Renwick's doctrines to take to the heather. These two undoubtedly existed, undoubtedly were tried at Wigton, and undoubtedly condemned, on the 13th April, for refusing to abjure the Declaration. The trial was by a Sheriff's Jury, not a summary court. Mrs Lauchlison then asked leave to abjure: apparently, though there is no documentary evidence, Margaret Wilson did also. Whether she did or not, on the 30th April, the Privy Council applied for the royal pardon for both women, and granted both a reprieve pending application, such a reprieve being in regular practice, though not technically, equivalent to an actual pardon. These matters, so far, are undoubted, though some are rather frequently unrecorded. There is no further official record of either their execution or their release. It is *possible* that the execution did take place, for the reprieve is addressed to the magistrates at Edinburgh, not at Wigton. The prisoners may have been at Edinburgh: there are cases where prisoners petitioning for reprieve were sent there from elsewhere. There is also a case where a reprieve meant for *James Meason, taliour*, was made out to a mythical *James Napper, mason*, wherefore the real James was apparently hanged: so a clerk's blunder, or someone's bad writing, may have cost the two their lives. The matter, probably, will never be proven. The writer's own opinion is that the execution *probably* took place: that if so, the women probably died with courage, and that they have a right to sympathy over a piece of most distressing ill-fortune: but that much pathetic and indignant writing, not quite disinterested, needs cooling down. It is an amusing comment on hagiographical tradition that when a pious citizen of Stirling erected monuments to Covenant martyrs, that assigned to this case companions the young and picturesque Margaret Wilson not with the elderly Mrs Lauchlison, who *was* condemned with her, but with her sister Agnes, who was certainly neither tried nor executed, and describes them on the plinth as Virgin Martyrs, Mrs Lauchlison being left out as less appealing.

Professor C. S. Terry, not a Scotsman, but one of the foremost authorities on this period of Scottish history, is moved from his usual dispassionate tone to remark

> There is not in all the range of history a literature so uninformed, so aloof from the method and inquiry which modern usage demands as essential, so wedded to indelible and prejudiced impressions as that which owns Wodrow and Howie of Lochgoin [1] as its parents.

The Estates met on the 28th April 1685. They were in a mood of loyalty to the Crown, voting supplies of £216,000 to James yearly for life, and fierce against ‘ the new sect from the dunghill, who kill by pretended inspiration, whose idol is that accursed Covenant.’ To own the Covenant was now made treason (which in fact it automatically involved) and preachers at any conventicle and hearers at the field ones were made liable to death. The ridiculous Test was also reimposed, although the Bishops of Dunblane and Ross succeeded in getting women exempted from it. A further attempt was made at this time, however, to cope with the complication of the women. (The Wigton case just then was on the carpet: the reprieve was granted two days after Parliament met.) It had grown serious: few gentlemen sided with the Cameronians, but it was otherwise with their wives and daughters, who were fairly swept off their feet by Cameron and Renwick. The threat of drowning had proved ineffective, as they might have known: the case at Wigton had fairly called that bluff. Fines were small use: what money had a young unmarried woman? Now their menfolk were stimulated to domestic control (Ayala's ghost would probably have smiled) by being made liable for their women's fines: and a bonny penny some poor gentlemen found them.

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[1] Editor of Sheilds’s *Faithful Contendings Display’d*, the senior of the three famous martyrologies which colour most subsequent writings on this time.

The proceedings of the Estates suggest that outside the South-west, Scotland was generally for the King. The summer proved this. Monmouth and Argyle, in Holland, contrived a plot, which with the Protestant support they expected would be amply forthcoming at home, should set the former on the throne of England and make the latter supreme in power in Scotland. Holland, commonly friendly to all foes of the Stewarts, disliked this point, as blocking William's probable Crown Matrimonial as husband of King James's elder daughter: so Monmouth was warned off, and the matter hurried into premature action. Squabbles held up the plotters, but the arrangements were in hand by May. Monmouth should land in the South of England, Argyle some ten days earlier in Scotland. With Argyle were associated two men who had been concerned in the Rye House Plot, Hume of Polwarth (an unpleasant person with a charming and plucky daughter) and Cochrane of Ochiltree.

The affair went ill from the start. The preliminary bickering had let something out, and the Council sent Athol into Campbell country. The Cameronians, expected to be the mainstay of a rising, found Argyle did not profess the right shade of belief, while his money came from Sectaries, Papists, Malignants, the Indulged, and other enemies of the Lord's cause : also Cochrane had been on the Government side at Aird's Moss. The expedition sailed on the 1st May, touched at Kirkwall, where some of its members, including two of Sharpe's murderers, were arrested, and went by Mull to Kintyre, where they emitted a lengthy declaration (over three large double-columned pages of very small type) denouncing the King as ' a notorious apostate and bigot Papist,' ' the hellish mystery of anti-christian iniquity,' and

> the deluging of these lands with all villanous debaucheries and abominable licentiousness to the very profligating of conscience, morality, and common honesty from among men.

No one, apparently, was much impressed, though there were naturally Campbell recruits. Then disagreement held things up again. The Lowlanders wanted to strike for Ayrshire, Argyle to retake his chef-lieu of Inveraray. They compromised on Bute as an objective. The Lowlanders went to Greenock, with no results.

Argyle did try for Inveraray, mismanaged badly, was driven off, captured, and on the 30th went to the Maiden on the old capital sentence for leasing-making—a manifest blunder, as it was clearly unjust, whereas a new one for treason, even if it had not exposed him as art and part in the Rye House murder plot, would have been obviously justified. Polwarth, thanks to his gallant daughter, got away, and lived to be William II's Earl of Marchmont. Argyle's own comment, shortly before his death, was 'In this country I see no great party that desires to be relieved.' The chief effect of the adventure, in fact, was to injure the Whig prisoners in Edinburgh, who were sent to Dunnottar in the Mearns to make way for those of an expected fresh rising, and herded there under apparently bad conditions, though unfortunately some of Wodrow's gruesome detail of the Whig's Vault is contradicted by his own evidence, and a good deal more is demolished by the Reverend Doctor Barron, in his elaborate monograph on Dunnottar. There was, in fact, a threat of rising: some three or four hundred Whigs assembled at Sanquhar, but they were scattered at once by Claverhouse.

Monmouth's end of the business had also been a fiasco. England refused to support him. James, by the latter part of 1685, seemed very safe on his throne. In three years he had lost it.

He was, as has been said, a devoted Catholic, and had the not unnatural desire of relieving the evil case of his fellow Catholics, who all through a long generation of civil war had been consistently loyal to the Crown. He desired that they might worship openly, buy and sell, inherit land and goods, bring up their children in their own faith. Worse, he desired they might vote for Parliament, be employed at Court and in the Services, and in general have the common privileges of nationals of the State. And he chose his time to help them as ill as might be.

He had told the Pope, at once on his accession, that he would have the Penal Laws repealed. Innocent XI warned him to go slowly and constitutionally, to win public opinion: but James, like his father, was in earnest, and a Stewart in earnest was apt to be in a hurry. All the auspices were bad. Monmouth's rebellion had been put down with a brutality to which England had been unused for a generation: 300 were hanged, nearly 1000 transported to the Plantations. This—not merely the facts, but much more the manner of their conduct by the brutal Kirke and the half-maniac Jeffreys—caused a violent revulsion of general popular feeling: and before it died down, and while most people still believed in, when they remembered, the Popish Plot, there was a fresh scare from France, and one that justified popular emotion. King Louis's morganatic wife, Madame de Maintenon, was a Catholic convert of a dour bigotry. The King was under her thumb: she reformed his morals, and for the safety of his soul and hers induced him in October 1685 to revoke the Edict of Nantes, which since 1598 had protected her former co-religionists. It was, ethics apart, one of the biggest blunders in history. St-Simon, a devout Catholic himself, is vitriolic over it at the time: it did great harm to the magnificent France that the earlier part of Louis's reign had built, and it probably did as much as anything to drive James from his throne, for Huguenot refugees arrived in numbers . . . and it was within a month of its first news that James elected to make his first attempt. He declared that in spite of the Test he would employ Catholics, and dissolved the English Parliament when it protested.

Catholics in Scotland were cheered, and went more openly. There were some conspicuous converts about this time, notably the Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, and his brother the Earl of Melfort, Secretary of State, who ventured to fit up a private chapel in Edinburgh.[1] There was a general fear of Catholic emancipation, which was denounced by all parties. In March the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Edinburgh went to London, and declared themselves willing for the abolition of 'all sanguinary laws,' 'which have fallen into absolute desuetude for many years past.' They were willing that Catholics should not be penalised, and should have the right to worship in private houses: further than that, however, they would not go, and many of the Establishment would not go so far. As for the Presbyterians, the concession of citizenship to Catholics meant that the King who professed to be father of his country was

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[1] It is common form to comment on Perth's conversion as made for gain. In fact, from the letters published in the recent scholarly biography by a French writer, M. l'abbé Joly, it is clear that the conversion was sincere, and that Perth, who knew that such comment would be made, was tempted to conceal it for that reason.

> bringing in his butchering children their bastard brethren and making them heirs and portioners with the bairns of the house.

The Estates met on the 29th April 1686. James, having put forward a scheme for free trade with England and a full indemnity to all rebels, made a personal appeal on behalf of his co-religionists.

> Whilst we show these acts of mercy to the enemies of our person, crown, and royal dignity, we cannot be unmindful of others our innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion, who have with the hazard of their lives and fortunes been assistant to the Crown in the worst of rebellions and usurpation, though they lay under discouragements hardly to be named :

and he begs for them

> the protection of our laws, and that security under our government which others of our subjects have had.

There was much opposition. The Bishops of Galloway, Ross, and Dunkeld were prominent, and Sir George MacKenzie. The latter, in consequence, lost his post of Lord Advocate, which went to Stair. The Bishop of Dunkeld was also deposed, and his see offered to the Bishop of Brechin, who said that ‘ he saw no vacancy there.’ The answer of the Estates in general was non-committal. They thanked James politely for the plan of free trade, praised his intention of mercy, but as to the Catholics would do no more than give the matter ‘ serious and dutiful consideration ’ and go ‘ as great lengths as our consciences will allow.’

In mid-June they adjourned, and when they met again, the King had become a fugitive in France.

Through the summer James did his best to provoke public feeling in England, not merely appointing Catholics to high office, but turning out Protestant holders to make room for them. (The fact that these were plotting against his throne does not seem to constitute a valid excuse.) In July, he claimed the power to suspend the Penal Laws on his own motion, and in August applied it to Scotland, where he also re-established the Chapel Royal. Affairs hung so for a while. Then on the 12th February 1687, he carried out his intentions as regards Scotland, freeing not only Catholics but all law-abiding subjects of whatever belief. Presbyterians of all shades might meet in private houses and hear whom they would ; Quakers, where a place might be appointed ; Catholics, in houses or chapels, though they must not seize Protestant churches or hold out-door processions. Field conventicles were prohibited to all three. Religious tests of all kinds were suspended : office-holders had only to swear that the King was the supreme governor and that it was unlawful to rise in arms against him. He promised that subjects of all creeds should be employed indifferently, and no man be ‘ discouraged ’ for his religion.

The Presbyterians refused to accept the Indulgence, saying the oath of supremacy was against their conscience. On the 31st March therefore, the Indulgence was amended, and the oath withdrawn. Still they would have none : the Indulgence was then further enlarged, and on the 28th June it was declared that all laws against religious non-conformity of whatever kind were suspended ; all the King's subjects could worship as and where they pleased, so long as it was not in field conventicles, that nothing seditious was preached, and that their meetings were open to all comers. For the first time since the fifteenth century, Scotland received complete religious freedom. It lasted for a little more than a year, and was not recovered till 1829 : indeed, some parts of the Penal Laws against Episcopalians were left on the Statute-book so recently as 1887, when the rest were repealed, and practically all Scots Episcopalians at this moment are legally liable to two years prison.[1] James may have been a monster of tyranny : he certainly liked constitutional short cuts : but he gave the only time in fifteen reigns in which religious freedom was legal in Scotland. And it ruined him.

Almost, however, it succeeded. It was English objection, not Scottish, that brought him down. By far the majority of the Presbyterians accepted this third form of the Indulgence. Those in exile returned. There was a sort of general settling down. Rules were drawn up for further organisation. They took steps for the training of divinity students, laying the foundations for the admirably thorough course that is one of the most honourable features of the present Establishment. It was arranged to build churches in various places south of Tay: north of that river they would not have found congregations. An Assembly of Presbyterian ministers expressed their 'deep sense of your majesty's gracious and surprising favour,' and signing themselves 'your majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient servants,' were

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[1] Dean Ranken, who died in 1886, was threatened as a young minister with being cited before the Sheriff for reading the Office of Burial in public.

> humbly beseeching that those who promote any disloyal principles and practice (as we do disown them) may be looked on as none of ours.

In fact, only Renwick and his Cameronians dissented, and they in the earlier part of the previous year, although much annoyed at being called Separatists, had been at pains to stress their separation from the general mass of their co-religionists. They declared themselves 'the Antipapist, Antiprelatic, Antierastian, true Presbyterian Church of Scotland,' and regretted that they 'had no ministers but one,' all the rest being 'turned cruel like the ostrich in the wilderness,' wherefore Renwick made solemn avowal that 'I have separate from and excommunicate *all* the ministers belonging to Scotland'—an even handsomer affair than Cargill's. It is sad to state that some of his own flock thereafter excommunicated himself. Those between Dee and Cree now turned against him, and there was also complaint that

> the lively exercise of religion was much marred through the not propounding of questions and cases of conscience,

in the manner of the Sweet Singers.

In February of 1688 the Cameronians lost their leader. Young Renwick was captured, by sheer chance, in a smuggler's house in Edinburgh. He was offered his life if he would acknowledge the Government, but refused. Bishop Paterson of Edinburgh attempted to get him reprieved, but he maintained so violently that 'the Duke of York' was a usurper, and that it was unlawful to pay cess (he seems, however, to have regretted the murder declaration) that the Bishop's efforts were frustrated. He died, with courage, on the 17th February. His last words were 'Scotland must be rid of Scotland before the delivery come:' and they were true. Before Presbyterianism could become dominant in the country, the dynasty of the Stewarts had to go and the Union of Parliaments to be accomplished.

The Cameronians apart, Scotland settled peaceably to 'the vomit of toleration.' In England, however, it had been otherwise. In 1687 James had enacted liberty of cultus there also, and it had been very ill received. He made matters worse by various blunders in detail: he tried to force the English universities to open their doors to Catholics, and tactless as ever, wished to make Magdalen accept as President a man who had been ejected for misconduct. In April of 1688, a second Indulgence produced an English crisis. In early May the English Council ordered that a fortnight later the Indulgence should be read from the pulpits on Sunday the 20th. Late on Friday night, the 18th, seven bishops sent a protest to the King; he asked them to see him next morning and deliberate: by next morning, before the time appointed for the meeting their confidential protest to him was in the hands of all London, and the Seven Bishops were the city's heroes. The Council, with James's concurrence, arrested them, for the English equivalent of leasing-making. While they were in the Tower, awaiting trial, something happened that seemed a great good fortune for James, but in fact was to send the smoulder up in flame, and produce his deposition within six months.

Of three sons and four daughters of the King's first marriage, all had died in childhood saving two of the daughters, who were Protestants and married to Protestant husbands. Mary Beatrice's son and her three daughters had also died as babies. Now on the 10th June she bore the King's fifth son: and he did not die but showed clear signs of living, as he did, to his sorrow, for longer than any Stewart since Robert III, dying in another land and another age when he was an old man of seventy-eight. The three generations in exile all died old.

CHAPTER XV

REVOLUTION ONCE MORE

THIRTEEN MONTHS: JUNE 1688–JULY 1689

A zeal for God, but not according to knowledge.
Romans, x, 2.

The Prince cut out King James's Protestant heirs, whose next in succession was wife of William of Orange. The fact that William was Stadtholder of that Holland with which England had thrice in a short life-time been at war was counted less than that the new-born Prince would undoubtedly be bred in the Catholic faith. His birth roused a storm not unlike the hey-day of the Popish Plot. It seems that London of that period would believe anything: it had no difficulty now, at least, in believing three different but circumstantial stories, whose common point was that the child was a substitute, brought to the Queen's bed in a warming-pan. The stories spread over the country, and to Holland, where William of Orange professed his belief in them.

Now William for some time—the secret history is most obscure—had been looking forward to succeeding his uncle. In 1686 he had formed the League of Augsburg against France: it was not by any means a Protestant affair, as the Emperor, the Pope, and Spain all supported it, but to England, through his opposition to France, he had always passed, and could still, as the Protestant Champion. He saw his chance now of succeeding to England before his uncle's death, and the birth of the little Prince made it now or never. He had for long been in close and intimate touch with the opponents of both James and Charles, and for over twenty years every movement of opposition to the Crown, in both Scotland and England, had some roots in Holland.

Now his opportunity came to his hand : the Prince's birth was followed within three weeks by the trial and acquittal of the Bishops, which roused the Londoners to the point of frenzy. The knowledge that a child was to be born had caused William to prepare for an invasion : but the Dutch and the Continental situation were both awkward, the baby Prince had arrived a month too soon, and William's preparations were not complete. The chief English Whigs sent him a formal invitation to land with an army : France had wind of the matter, and King Louis warned his cousin, and offered the support of the French fleet. James would not accept that : it seemed to give his kingdoms a position of dependence upon France, and apparently he did not credit the warning. None the less, on the 1st September Louis warned the Dutch that if they invaded England, he would do as much for Holland . . . and James again refused his offer of help, withdrew his ambassador from Paris, and announced that he could trust his daughter and son-in-law and the repeated promises of Holland, for William was informing his Continental allies that he would never attempt to depose his wife's father.

By the end of September Louis abandoned the matter and removed his armies from the Dutch frontier. James was lost: and then, too late, he was aroused, for the estimable Gilbert Burnet (whom William later made Bishop of Salisbury) forged a paper purporting to prove the Prince a changeling: and William had 80,000 copies printed, and distributed them. James saw then what would come: he was no coward, but he had the general inability of the Stewarts to stand up to an intimate betrayal, and he seems to have lost his head. He made various concessions, but he would not and could not stoop to the only one which would have saved him—to reverse the permission of religious freedom.

Preparations were made for resistance to invasion. In Scotland the eastern militia, from Angus south, were called out, and beacons made ready. Balcarres, a man consistently loyal, proposed to levy a force that should march to York and keep Northern England quiet, but Melfort, James's most disastrous counsellor, insisted on stripping Scotland of government troops by calling south the regular army, with Douglas, Queensberry's brother, and Claverhouse.

It was on England that the blow fell. On the 14th October William again informed his Catholic allies that though he was invading England, he did not mean to dethrone his uncle and father-in-law, and would seek to ensure Catholic freedom in that country. Then on the 19th he sailed, with 500 ships and 14,000 Dutchmen. The autumn winds held him back, but the weather was never lucky for a Stewart, and in a fortnight they changed and took him down Channel, at the same time holding James's fleet in the Thames. He landed in Devon on the 5th November. Carstares held a solemn service of thanksgiving, and William put forth a Declaration for Scotland, denouncing the ' deplorable state ' of that kingdom as ' abhorrent to his reason and his conscience,' and declaring that he would free her ' from all hazard of Popery and arbitrary power,' and have everything settled by a free Parliament.

James had marched to meet him. John Churchill, whom he had made his Lieutenant-general, protested, on the 16th, his loyalty. On the 23rd, he deserted to William and took the cavalry with him. On the previous day the King's other son-in-law, George of Denmark, who also had protested loyalty, had also gone: a few days after that the Princess Anne, who commonly did as Churchill's wife might bid her, went also. It broke James : he had a slight stroke, enough to muddle his wits when he most required them : and there was a landslide of English officers. Balcarres and Claverhouse (now made Viscount Dundee) attempted to get the King to ride to Scotland. He would not go, but on the 10th of December he sent the Queen and Prince to France for shelter.

On that day, the mob of Edinburgh, led by the

Provost and the Town Guard, sacked Holyrood. The Palace was garrisoned by 120 soldiers, who held out gallantly: many were killed, and others died in prison of wounds and hunger. A number of Catholic houses were also sacked: the mob emptied Balcarres' cellar, and according to him, 'treated some ladies with the utmost barbarity.' Similar raids were carried out elsewhere by organised bands of Cameronians: Patrick Walker, their martyrologist, was present, he says, at fifteen such 'rabblings.' On Christmas Day there was a great organised raid on the parish ministers between Clyde and Solway. Over two hundred were evicted and their houses wrecked: in several cases their wives and children were very roughly handled.

Meanwhile, James had fled on the 11th, and London behind him had seen a similar rising. Yet he returned, amid cheering, on the 16th. Dundee strove with him vainly to go north: the English situation, in fact, was hopeless. On the 23rd he left his kingdom for France. King Louis received him with generous courtesy, and gave him the royal château of St Germain, where he lived until his death in 1701.

Some crowded weeks determined the future of Scotland. Athol, who had been royalist, called the Council, and proposed an address to the Prince of Orange. It was sent, though the Archbishops and Sir George MacKenzie protested at its enthusiastic language, and insisted on a chastening of its terms. Most of the leaders, on both sides, went to London, and on the 7th January some hundred of them invited William to take over the government of Scotland and call a Convention of Estates in March.

In England a similar Convention assembled on the 22nd January, and declared that James had ‘ broken the original contract between King and people,’ and that his flight constituted an abdication, so that the Throne was vacant. A Declaration of Rights was produced, later embodied in the Bill of Rights. Its main points were that suspension of laws, levying of money, or maintenance of a standing army without the consent of Parliament were illegal. Parliament was to have free election (on an extremely limited franchise, of course) and the right to free speech and be held frequently. No Papist, or spouse of a Papist, could hold the Crown. Contingently on acceptance of these terms, Mary nominally was to be Queen, with William holding the real sovereignty, by a sort of analogy to our Crown Matrimonial. The terms were accepted, and on the 13th February, as nominees of the English Parliament, the two were proclaimed King and Queen of England and Ireland. As such, they ride side by side on their Great Seal, Mary arrayed in the full court dress of the day, and William adorned as a Roman imperator.

Scotland, meanwhile, looked on. James was still King of Scots, and matters still hung suspended through the winter. The ecclesiastical issue was soon determined. William hoped much for support from the Scottish Church, for the Bishops had violently opposed King James in the days of his power, and he had disliked their communion, considering it, as most Roman Catholics do, a much stronger enemy than Presbyterianism. William reckoned without certain facts, however. They had taken an oath of allegiance to James :

> I do promise to be true and faithful to the King and his heirs . . . and not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended to him :

James also was the son of a Scottish prince, who with all his errors, had died for their own faith : to see him dispossessed for a Calvinist Dutchman did not appeal to them. Their attitude may be expressed in the words of the Earl of Arran :

> I have all the honour and deference imaginable for the Prince of Orange : I think him a brave prince, and that we owe him great obligation for contributing so much to our deliverance from Popery ; but while I pay these praises, I cannot violate my duty to my master. I must distinguish between his Popery and his person ; I dislike the one, but have sworn and do owe allegiance to the other, which makes it impossible for me to sign away that I cannot forbear thinking the King my master's right.

In December the Duke of Hamilton took soundings, seeing the Archbishop of St Andrews and the Bishop of Edinburgh,

> and prayed us most pathetically, for our own sakes, to follow the example of the Church of England. To which my Lord St Andrews replied, That both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most solemn oaths, we were engaged in the King's interest, and that we were by God's grace to stand by it in the face of all dangers and to the greatest losses.

In order to clear up the situation, Bishop Rose of Edinburgh[1] was sent to London as the accredited envoy of the Church. He consulted the Archbishop of Canterbury, who thought matters 'very dark,' and Gilbert Burnet, who 'would not meddle with Scots affairs,' and had much difficulty in getting access to William. At the end of January, not having seen the new King, he applied for his passports. Just before this time, the Presbyterians sent an address to William. Their sentiments were unequivocal. His declaration came 'as the rain on the mown grass:' they were troubled over the loyalty to King James they had expressed so recently and warmly, but pleaded for a favourable construction: and the very able Carstares, who had the ear of William's favourite Bentinck, was urging their case. William, however, inclined to the Episcopalians, as the larger party. He sent Compton, the Bishop of London and one of his major allies, to Rose. Compton told Rose, with politic frankness,

> My lord, you see that the king having thrown himself upon the water must keep himself a-swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely and offered to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off unless he could see how otherways he can be served. And the king bids me tell you that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland, for while there he was made to believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian . . . wherefore he bids me tell you that if you will undertake to serve

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[1] A Highlander, of the Kilravock family, and a graduate of King's, Aberdeen: he had been Principal of St Mary's, St Andrews. The present congregation of Sir Walter Scott's church, Old St Paul's, are the successors of his outed congregation from St Giles's.

him to the purpose that he is served here in England,[1] he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians.

It was a bad moment for an honest man. Rose told him that on his arrival in London neither he nor the Scots bishops had looked for so complete a revolution, and he did not think that they ' would give their suffrage ' for William as king : he could not speak definitely for the Church at large, but for himself, rather than do so, he would abandon all worldly interest. His career was to show it was no empty boast.

Next day, Rose was brought at last to the new King. Their talk was brief. William said to him, ' My lord, are you going for Scotland? ' ' Yes, sir, if you have any commands for me? ' William said then, ' I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England.' The Bishop, ' being somewhat difficulted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer without entangling myself,' replied ' Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, and conscience shall allow me.' William turned away without another word, and the Episcopal Church fell in that moment.

On the 14th of March, that month of significant happenings in Scotland, the Estates met. They were convened by William, King of England but not yet the

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[1] Archbishop Sancroft and seven English bishops (including five from those tried the previous year) refused to take the oath of allegiance to William, as did many English clergy : all were deposed.

King of Scots. James gave his supporters leave to be present, however, and many were, intending, if occasion should demand it, to call a Jacobite Convention to Stirling. The Test and forfeitures were disregarded, and fifty-eight peers were present (out of about 150) with the Archbishops and seven of the eleven bishops. (One see was vacant.) William still made a bid for Episcopalian support, assuring the Bishops by Hamilton, now his recruit, that nothing would be done against Episcopacy if they would follow the English Church and support him. One, in thirteen, chose to do so, and no more.

The background of the assembly promised storm. Above, the Duke of Gordon held an ill-provisioned Castle for King James. Below, the Cameronians had crowded in, and

> With sour-featured Whigs the Grassmarket was crammed,
> As if half the West had set tryst to be hanged :

Hamilton had some companies of infantry, scared alike of the Westland Whigs and that deil Dundee, while General Mackay of the Scots-Dutch Brigade was sailing north with three of his regiments, whom the Gude Toun promptly christened the Butter-box. And James was on his way with French troops to Ireland, where Tyrconnel was awaiting him with an army.

Hamilton was elected President, by fifteen votes above the Jacobite Athol. The rival Kings both sent communications. William's was read first. He spoke of ' secureing the Protestant Religion, the ancient Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom,' but most of the letter is devoted to urging

> ane union of both Kingdomes as one of the best means for procureing the happiness of these Nations.

James's was then produced: it might dissolve the Convention, so before it was read, the members of both parties signed a band declaring themselves 'a frie and lawfull meeting.' (The clear, virile, and fastidious script of 'Dundie' appears close to the foot of the sheet of peers.) The letter was signed by Melfort on behalf of the King: he expects

> from you what becomes loyall and faithfull subjects, generous and honest men . . . That you will naither suffer yr. selves to be cajoled nor frightened into action misbecoming true hearted Scotsmen, and that to suport the honor of yr. Natione you will contemn the base example of disloyall men and Eternise your names by a loyalty suitable to the many professions you have made to us. In doeing whereof you will choise the safest part, since thereby you will evite the danger you must neids undergo The infamy and disgrace you must bring upon your selves in this world, and the Condemnation due to the Rebellious in the nixt. And you will likeways have the opportunity to secure to yourselves and your posterity the gracious promises we have so often made of secureing your Religion Laws Property libertys and rights which we are still resolved to performe.

It promised help and an indemnity for all who would declare for him by the end of the month: but it was not enough. The uncertain men—there were many—swayed towards William. The fixed Jacobites wished to meet at Stirling on the 18th: that is, two days later. Athol induced them to wait for the next day's session, but Dundee had heard of a plot to murder him, and though John Graham feared nothing under heaven, he could only serve his master if he lived. With fifty men ‘he rode down the sanctified bends o’ the Bow,’ and climbed up the Castle Rock to speak to Gordon. There was Whig panic: they had not forgotten another Graham, and Claverhouse, all men knew, was in league with the Devil: with fifty men he might massacre them all. ‘The bells were rung backward, the drums they were beat,’ but Dundee rode down the Lang Dykes, that now are Princes Street, and turned his face to the land benorth the Tay.

The Jacobites withdrew, but they did not meet. A solid phalanx of Williamites remained. Stair led proposals to unite the countries. They failed now, for the Presbyterians had seen that though William’s first English Parliament was continuing toleration of Presbyterians and had reimposed the Penal Laws on Catholics, it would not enforce Presbyterianism as the English Establishment: so they feared that a Union might sustain their rivals. An Act was passed warning all Protestants of sixteen to sixty to stand by for mobilisation, and next day another prohibited all Papists from civil and military office and ordered them to be disarmed within ten days (‘excepting gentlemen their ordinary wearing swords’) or else they must thole ‘all rigour.’ (One wonders if Stair smelt fresh blood on snow?)

At the end of March, there was further news from James: he offered, from Dublin, to maintain the Protestant religion and give a general amnesty. The bid was not high enough, and it came too late. There were only four Jacobites left in the Convention (the Archbishop of Glasgow and Sir George MacKenzie being two) to vote against Stair's bill of the 4th April, which declares that

> King James being a profest papist did assume the regall power and acted as King without ever taking the oath required by law [to maintain Protestantism, and] did invade the fundamentall constitution of this kingdome and alter it from a legall limited Monarchie to ane Arbitrary Despotick power and by publick proclamatioun asserted ane absolute power to Cass annull and Disable all the Lawes and . . . did exerce that power to the subversione of the protestant Religion . . . by Erection of publick schooles and societies of the Jesuits and allowing mass to be publickly said.

A further list of grievances follows—employing Papists in positions of trust, allowing Popish books to be printed, sending subscriptions to Popish schools abroad, imposing oaths contrary to law, claiming grants and a standing army without Parliament, imposing martial law, using torture in the probation of crimes,[1] persecuting under obsolete laws, and interfering with the course of justice: wherefore he had 'forefaulted his right to the Croune, and the throne [was] vacant.' Hamilton proposed that the Crown should be offered to 'the Prince and Princess of Orange, now King and Queen of England.' It was passed, and on the 11th April William II and Mary II, as joint sovereigns, were proclaimed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh.

For the last fortnight a committee, from which the

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[1] William's supporters did this a little later. It was still legal until 1709.

Bishops were excluded, had been sitting to draw up the conditions of their sovereignty. On the 11th it produced the Claim of Right: James is denounced, the succession acknowledged to William and Mary, thence to Mary's issue, thence to Anne and hers, and finally to William's. The main terms are a sort of converse of the Act of Deposition: certain Grievances are added, which include the marriage of the sovereign to a Papist: and

> prelacy and superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable greivance and trouble to this Nation and contrary to the Inclinationes of the generality of the people . . . and therefore ought to be abolished.

Even in the now wholly Williamite Convention, this last clause was not passed without debate: there were votes against it, though less, perhaps, from lack of sympathy than because its flagrant discord with the facts made it impolitic. The rest passed unchallenged.

Two days later the Convention ordained that

> None presume to own or acknowledge the late King James the Seventh for their King [or] . . . upon the highest perrill by word, writing, In Sermons or any other manner of way to Impugne or dissoun the Royall authoritie of William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland[1] . . . [and] that all the ministers of the gospell within the Kingdom publickly pray for King William and Queen Mary.

The order was that of a secular government, but the Presbyterians complied at once. The Episcopalians refused, and many in the southern provinces were at once deprived.

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[1] Not 'of Scots.'

On the 11th May the Claim was presented to William in London: he never set foot in the Scottish kingdom. He accepted its terms, and though he was never crowned he did at least take the Coronation oath, to maintain the true religion then received in Scotland (which at the moment was still Episcopacy) and root out its enemies.

William was King of Scotland: his wife, a forlorn grey shadow, counted nothing. But his problems were thorny. England had taken him quietly, the non-jurors confining themselves to passive resistance. In Scotland, the Episcopal clergy did the same: but Ireland was up in a full-dress war, and in Scotland there was promise of another. At the end of March the Convention had declared Dundee a rebel,[1] and ordered General Mackay to look for him. Just at the time when William was proclaimed, he set up the Royal Standard at Dundee, and rode west to raise the clans. 2000 men met at Glenroy, on the 18th May, and through midsummer he led Mackay a dance that would have done credit to his elder kinsman, 'skipping from hill to hill like wildfire,' for he was waiting for a force from Ireland.

As he led the panting Mackay about a country that had not much in common with the Flanders plain, the Estates assembled once more on the 5th June, now recognised as a formal Parliament, with Hamilton as the King's Commissioner. Their main business was double. One part was to deal with the legal machinery, especially the Committee of the Articles : but nothing was done there till the following year. The other matter was the religious one. For a politician, there were two sets of facts. For the first, the Bishops and most of the clergy of the Establishment (though not all) considered themselves bound to James, and so did at least a great part of their laity, while Presbyterianism, both lay and clerical, was solid for William of Orange, in spite of the clause in their Confession of Faith that

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[1] Rather prematurely, as James, whose commission he held, was not yet deposed.

> Difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him.

As against this, in the country as a whole, the Episcopalians, in spite of the Indulgences and their obviously forthcoming disestablishment, were in a majority of two to one. General Mackay, a Presbyterian, writes in a private letter the next year,

> I tell you who know Scotland . . . that if I were as much an enemy to that [the Presbyterian] interest as I am a friend, I would without difficulty engage to form a more formidable party against it, even for their majesties' government, than could be formed for it.

But the proportion was not even through the country : north of Tay, apart from the small Romanist body, was solidly Episcopalian : in middle and south-west Scotland there was a mixture, though not a third there had taken the benefit of the Indulgences : in south Scotland west of Clyde Presbyterianism was almost solid, though not all of it now was of the old extreme pattern, represented by the Cameronians. In the Estates however, it was different : Lord Tarbat writes this summer,

> The Presbyterians are the more zealous and hotter ; the other more numerous and powerful. The present Parliament is more numerous of Presbyterians by the new method of election of burghs [1] ; but the major part of the nobility and barons [*i.e.*, the lairds] are not for Presbytery.

Politically speaking, the Episcopal Church had a further handicap. Its clergy, as in 1638, did not believe that the Wars of Israel provided the pattern for Christian social action. They would not take the sword for their creed as such : they defended their faith by merely passive resistance, and the division between those who accepted William's election by the Estates, and those who still held by James, weakened them further.

On the 2nd July the Earl of Annandale brought in an act for parity of presbyters in the Church, reserving to the sovereigns the right to settle the government of the presbyterianised Establishment in the way most agreeable to the people's inclinations and the Word of God. (Order *sic.*) The Earl of Kintore then brought an address from the Synod of Aberdeen, who expressed their willingness to pray for King William and lamented the divisions of the Church, begging for a free General Assembly at a time and place to suit the King and Estates, where 'judicious ministers' representing the different communions should debate the points at issue between these, and attempt a concordat,

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[1] The commons, outside the burghs, had no vote.

> not doubting but that if we would mutuallie lay aside our unchristian heats and animosities we might be reconciled as that we might serve our Lord with one heart and consent and tolerate one another in those things where we may still differ.

The Presbyterians opposed this scheme with violence, for they knew that in a free General Assembly of both churches they would be in a hopeless minority. It was turned down. Annandale's bill was read, and amended to state that 'the government of the Church' (*Presbyterian* omitted) should be in the way 'most agreeable to the people's inclinations,' 'the Word of God' being dropped. On the 22nd July 1689 it was passed: and all acts in favour of Episcopacy were rescinded. No more was done until the following April: and for nine months there was no formal State Religion. The sitting incumbents were permitted for the time being to remain in their charges, and hold synods, presbyteries, and sessions until the Sovereigns and the Estates should frame a constitution for a new and Presbyterian Establishment. The ghosts of Knox, Melville, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, of Cargill and Renwick and those like-minded with them, must have stormed through a good deal of that winter weather, for if the 1660 Establishment had been fixed by Erastian authority, this new one was not only fixed but framed by it. But any Presbyterian opposition was left to the ghosts and the handful of Cameronians.

Five days after the Kirk was thus stricken, so was the King, for he lost the one man who might have won his cause. Dundee had waited for his Irish troops, but no Colkitto came across the water. In July they did come—a single regiment under Cannon, worse than nothing, since it merely exposed his weakness, was a shock to morale, that needed to be redeemed by bringing his men to action. Mackay gave the chance for that. He marched on Blair Athol, and Dundee moved to meet him: the Estates had just offered 18,000 merks for his body dead or alive.

Mackay had 4000 men, English, Dutch and Lowland; Dundee some 2500. On the 27th July the two forces met in the Pass of Killiecrankie. It was Tippermuir again, but with one thing altered. There have been few briefer battles, few victories more complete: the Highland charge swept Mackay's men down like twigs before a spate, and 2000 of them were killed or taken or wounded. But one man had charged his piece with a silver button, or so the tale goes. It is certainly true that Dundee fell mortally wounded. He lived long enough to ask how the day had sped. One said 'Well for the King, but I'm sorry for your lordship.' 'The less matter for me, seeing the day goes well for my master,' he said, and died, and King James's cause died with him.

Cannon tried to take his place, but he could do little: he knew neither the men nor the country, and was no leader. On the 21st August the Cameronians, in arms for William, beat him back from Dunkeld. He wintered in Lochaber, and in spring James sent General Buchan with reinforcements. He was caught unawares, on May Day, at Cromdale on Speyside: it was thirty years, less a fortnight, since James's brother had been proclaimed once more the King of Scots. Livingstone scattered his men, and as far as Scotland went, the war was over. It was to last for a year and a half yet in Ireland, but six weeks after Cromdale the Battle of the Boyne sent James back to France, and none of his kingdoms did he see again.

III

1689–1748

Now there's an end o' an auld sang.
Lord Seafield, on the 19*th March* 1707.

CHAPTER XVI

THE TRIUMPH OF THE WHIGS: RELIGIOUS

FIVE YEARS: MAY 1690–JUNE 1695

> To these officers [*i.e.*, Presbyterian ministers and elders] the keys of the kingdom of Heaven are committed, by virtue whereof they have power respectively to retain and remit sins, to shut that kingdom . . . and to open it . . . as occasion shall require.
>
> *The Westminster Confession*, xxx, 1.

AFTER thirty years, the Presbyterians were again in power. The major elements in the history of the next twenty-seven are their use of that power to create two institutions which supply the framework for our modern Scotland—the Presbyterian Establishment and the transfer of the seat of government from Edinburgh to London, by the union of the Parliaments of the Kingdoms. This time their party was able to hold to their power, because its temper had suffered a considerable change: it was now the more moderate men who carried weight, and although they drove still against their religious opponents, on the positive side their main activity was now in politics rather than in religion. The man who guided matters for them now, Carstares, has a surface likeness to Henderson: his cosy and bulbous countenance, to be sure, is unlike the other's fine-drawn fastidious beauty, but he had the same charm and the same political skill: yet while Henderson was wholly of the seventeenth century, Carstares looks forward rather to the eighteenth, to the age of reason and of moderation. His gift for ‘ getting on ’ with all kinds of men, his serene common-sense and resolute but unspectacular firmness made him succeed where Henderson had failed, and his past career as a spy for William of Orange had given him a broad knowledge of human nature. The time fought for him also. Scotland was torn and weary with extremes : to the man who offered her quiet and moderation she would submit without questioning their conditions until his structure had grown so firmly established that it seemed to be a prime essential of peace.

The two aspects of the process of settlement, ecclesiastic and political, ran alongside each other, of course, but it will be clearer to trace them separately for the present. Of the two sides of the general settlement, the ecclesiastic, since it was still the seventeenth century, was of prior importance, and was first completed : indeed, it was a condition of the other, for till Presbyterianism was firm in power, the Whig political framework was insecure, and the Union that was its climax impossible to form, much less maintain.

By July 1689, as we have seen, the religious establishment was *tabula rasa*. By November, though William's writ scarcely ran above Tay, some two hundred Episcopal ministers had been ejected, for refusing to read the proclamation discharging obedience to the sovereign to whom they had sworn allegiance. Unlike those ejected on similar grounds at the Restoration, who had generally been granted a year's stipend, they were allowed no sort of compensation, and could not even recover their arrears.

The Estates met again in April 1690, to resume the work of the preceding summer. William had intended to be present in person, but was hindered by the Irish war. (It is worth noting that while the Acts all speak of *Our Soveraigne Lord and Lady*, William's communications and commissions are in his own name alone.) He bade them now

> vigorously fall about the Setling of the great concernes of the Nation . . . avoid all occasions that may create or foment differences or animosities.

The Articles were dealt with in a statute of the 8th May:

> we . . . doe heirby discharge and abrogate in all tyme comeing the forsaid Committee of Parliament called the Articles, and . . . Cass and Annull and Rescind

the Act for its election. The Estates in future were to choose their own Committees, with equal representation from each estate. Certain officers of State were always to be present, but not to vote.

The main business, however, before Parliament, was to draw up a framework for the new Establishment. On the 25th April the Act for the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs was repealed, and all ministers deprived for non-conformity since the Restoration were restored to their charges, whether vacant or not, and whether or not the sitting incumbents of these were willing to take the oath to the new sovereigns. Within a week, on May Day, Cromdale was fought, and resistance in arms to the new régime seemed over.

The ministers thus restored, ‘ the Antediluvians,’ numbered only sixty, the famous ‘ Sixty Bishops.’ On the 26th May the Westminster Confession was re-enacted by the Estates as the major formulary of the new Kirk of Scotland. The Act of 1592 was also re-enacted, re-establishing the Presbyterian hierarchy of courts, without bishops, as now the sole authority of the Church, and

> allowing and Declareing that the Church Government be established in the hands of and exercised by [the Sixty] and such ministers and elders as they have admitted or receaved or shall hereafter admitt or receave.

Those parishes—some 400—whose ministers had been ‘ rabbled out ’ or removed for refusing to disown King James were declared vacant. Power was given the Sixty, and their ordinands, to purge the Church of all ‘ insufficent, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers.’ The educational profession was also to be purged, from the principals of the universities to the teachers of the landward parish schools : and all its personnel must now subscribe the Westminster Confession and take oath to William. Patronage was vested, for the landward parishes, in committees of their elders and their heritors, and in burghs in the Town Council and kirk session. The two Covenants, that had torn Scotland for half a century, were silently ignored, and allowed to pass from the official scheme, the Act of

1662 condemning them being left in its place in the Statute-book unrepealed.

The new Establishment was now in being: but it was no more co-extensive with the nation than any had been since the reign of James the Fifth, and the divisions between the various bodies were more formally defined than ever before. The remnant of the Catholics now was small: save for a few lords and gentlemen, now mainly exiles, it was almost confined to Barra, South Uist, and a strip across from Morar to the head-waters of the Dee—districts almost entirely Catholic to this day. The more violent provisions of the Penal Laws were rarely enforced: but their civil disabilities, the prohibition of their worship, and constant legal and social handicaps, weighed on them as they were later to do on the Episcopalians, and proved more effective than a more violent and direct persecution, as a cloud of gas is more powerful than a sword. Yet though they had more than a century yet of these, it was now that as a communion they began to revive, for in 1694, for the first time since 1560, a bishop owing allegiance to the Pope was appointed to serve in Scotland—Thomas Nicolson of the family of Kemnay, Bishop of Peristochium *in partibus*.

At the other extreme of the dissenting bodies were the Cameronians, who had already disowned their more moderate brethren. Their breach with these was defined by the abandonment of the Covenants, and until

1876, when their majority joined the Free Kirk, they remained separate with no even partial reunion with anyone else: in 1743 they adopted the name of Reformed Presbyterians, which their successors retain. Presbyterianism, however, was in general more homogeneous than at any time subsequent to the seventeen-thirties.[1] The temper of its adherents, however, varied from a genuine moderation, and even a tolerance of toleration, to considerable violence: but the violence at its worst would have seemed to the sixteen-forties Laodicean.

The Episcopalians were now not merely denounced by the State Church as individuals but definitely extruded from it as a body. William himself desired the majority of his Scottish subjects to be tolerated alongside the Establishment, on the lines of the Indulgences granted to Presbyterians under Charles and James: the Episcopalians, however, were too much in a majority for such compromise to be safe for the new régime. Their numbers were lowered, of course, by the secession of those who had joined the State Church because it was the State Church, like those modern members of the Establishment who always attend Church of

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[1] By 1800 there were five Presbyterian Communions outwith the Establishment: but the great age of secession, re-union, and re-secession was the nineteenth century, when the Relief Kirk, Original Associate Synod (Old Light Burghers), New Light Burghers, Old and New Light Anti-Burghers, United Seceders, United Original Seceders, Free Kirk, United Free Kirk, Free Presbyterians, United Presbyterians, and the Reformed Presbyterians above-mentioned went through a complex process of setting to partners, but without resorting to anything more violent than the House of Lords or a few flying divots.

England worship in England, or who cared too little for defined beliefs to put up with the inconveniences attending such matters as disfranchisement or the lack of education and of professional or service careers for their children. The rest drew together doctrinally, holding much the Right Wing position of the Arminians of the sixteen-thirties, of a reformed and non-papal Catholicism, purged of post-primitive accretions, and showing at once, now the shackles of Establishment were withdrawn, a movement of return in externals to the practice of the Aberdeen Doctors. They were divided politically, however, into those who accepted William, and those, including all the Bishops, who held for James. As time went on, their political divisions were to produce some division in doctrine also, as Williamite and Hanoverian politics brought those who professed them in contact with the Church of England, then predominantly 'Low' (or too often, merely lax and negative) while the Jacobites remained consistently of the school of the Doctors, their party's contact with the Establishment in England hardly beginning until the Oxford Movement, which stood for the same principles as themselves.[1]

This sketch looks forward, well beyond this book: but the germs of the later developments now were present, and their growth may be watched in what is told hereafter.

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[1] They were on friendly terms, however, with the English non-jurors, whose religion and politics agreed with their own.

William ordered the first Assembly of the new Church to meet in October 1690—the first Assembly since Cotterell dissolved the one of 1653. It revealed a certain nakedness in the land. What by now were something over 900 charges were represented by 180 men, counting not only ministers but elders. Only one member sat for the universities, where the purging commissions had worked all the past summer, and hardly any were present from north of Tay. This General Assembly, however, is important—negatively, in that it made no attempt to revive the Covenants, and positively, in concurring with the Government's enactment of the Westminster Confession as the standard of belief, to be subscribed by all ministers and elders. William exhorted them, in vigorous terms, to moderation. Their reply shows Carstares' influence in the ascendant, and the change of temper since the sixteen-forties, saying finely

> if after the violence for conscience' sake that we have suffered and so much detested . . . we ourselves should lapse into the same errors, we should certainly prove the most unjust towards God, foolish towards ourselves, and ungrateful towards your Majesty, of all men on earth.

That even the statement should be made at all shows the change of time. That it should be accompanied by the appointment of commissions to deal with 'erroneous' ministers, who caused the Episcopalians to complain that the Sixty Bishops were far more violent than theirs, was not, perhaps, entirely unexpected.

There were stirring scenes when the Northern Commission got about its work. Even the civil arm, with the military to aid, could not coerce the Northern congregations into accepting Presbyterian ministers. The 400 non-juring clergy could be dealt with by secular means, and were expelled: but three years later 300 non-Jacobite Episcopalians were still in occupation of their charges, and the Commissions powerless to get them shifted, while even so late as 1710 one hundred and twenty Episcopalian ministers still held their parish pulpits, as yet unejected.[1]

The next General Assembly, adjourned by the King to January 1692, was even smaller than the preceding one—165 ministers and elders for over 900 parishes. Its proceedings were notable for William's attempt to unite with the Establishment those Episcopalians who had taken the oath. The effort failed. The Williamite Episcopalians were willing to discuss it: the Assembly were not, for admission of even these within the structure of the Establishment would have meant a crushing Episcopalian majority. In any case, before it could be attempted, the Massacre of Glencoe set the North at least to a reconsideration of King William.

The official process of Establishment reached its conclusion, for the reign, next year, when on the 19th May 1693 the Estates passed an Act of Assurance. All noblemen and their heirs, all ‘ persons in Offices and Places of Publick Trust, Civill, Ecclesiasticall, and Military ’ (specified in a long catalogue going down to masters of ships and their mates and all voters before an election) on pain of carefully undefined penalties at the hands of the body due to receive their oath, were not only to swear faith and true allegiance to William and Mary, but to take the accompanying Assurance :

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[1] In July 1694 there were only eight Presbyterian ministers in the Synod of Aberdeen and Banff, containing eight Presbyteries and some hundred parishes. By 1697 there were fifteen. It was not until 1704 that the Establishment could hold a communion service in Aberdeen.

> I, A.B., do in the sincerity of my heart assert, acknowledge, and Declare that their Majesties King William and Queen Mary are the only lawfull undoubted Soveraigns of this Realm, as well de iure, that is of right, King and Queen, as de facto, that is in the possession and exercise of the Government. And therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise and ingage that I will with heart and hand, life and goods maintain and defend their Majesties’ title and Government Against the late King James and his adherents and all other enemies.

All ministers who refused should be deposed, or if not holding charges should be banished : no one who refused it might keep a horse worth over 100 merks, nor any sort of arms ‘ more than a walking sword,’ (which was practically part of a gentleman’s clothing) under fine of 1000 merks, half of which was to go to the informer : and further, besides those who from their positions must take it, the Council were to be empowered to call up *anyone*, and compel him to do so, and if he refused, proceed against him ‘ by fyneing, Confyneing, Imprisonment, or Banishment, by and attour other penalties.’

On the 12th June this was amplified by an Act for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church, which compelled all ministers to take the Assurance, subscribe the Westminster Confession as the true doctrine to which they would constantly adhere, own Presbyterianism as the sole government of the Church, from which they would never depart, and submit to uniformity in worship. The Estates also desired an Indulgence to those who would take the Assurance within a given time, the rest to be deposed.

The Assurance fluttered the doo-cots. Many Episcopalians had taken the oath to William as King *de facto* with a reservation that James was King *de iure*: the Presbyterians had no quarrel with the terms, but objected to their enforcement by the civil power, which seems perhaps a little illogical after the history of the last few years. Eventually the Assembly, which met at the end of March 1694, offered to receive such nonconforming ministers as should accept the provisions of the 12th June—in other words, make formal and sworn declaration of their full conversion to the whole scheme of Presbyterianism—and as reward for this timeous concession, the Assurance was not enforced upon its members. William made one last effort towards reconcilement with the Episcopalians: in the Estates of 1695, while the non-juring ministers were forbidden to baptise or marry under penalty of being imprisoned until they could find cautionaries for their life banishment, it was also enacted that those who should take the Assurance should remain in their charges and uplift their stipends.

It was now four years since the last Irish attempt for

James had ended with the Treaty of Limerick. Scotland was hopefully stirred by the Darien Scheme. The old era seemed over, and a new one beginning which seemed to promise revival and prosperity if peace should hold: some hundred ministers accepted the Assurance, and remained, for the present, lawfully in their charges, as the Indulged Presbyterians had done in the past.

CHAPTER XVII

THE TRIUMPH OF THE WHIGS: POLITICAL

SEVENTEEN YEARS: MAY 1690–MAY 1707

> Sub rege Medo Marsus et Apulus
> anciliorum et nominis et togae
> oblitus . . .
> incolumi Iove.
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> Horace, *Odes*, iii, 5.

THEREAFTER, in spite of years of Jacobite intrigue, checkmated by the politics of Europe, the country had leisure to think of her general situation. By 1695 the religious affairs which for the first few years had been central issues seemed to be stabilised, and in the South the general interest drifted away from them. The condition of Scotland was not agreeable. Since 1513 the national life had gone steadily down hill. The brief decade of recovery under James V, the promise of the personal reign of Mary, the longer and more hopeful period of reconstruction, from 1596 to the sixteen-thirties, had been each a false dawn: there had been another, though less vigorous, under the Restoration, but that was gone also, and the leaping advance of English prosperity between 1660 and 1688 had made it seem even less vigorous than it was. For two full generations, creative art was very nearly dead, save for the recent revival of architecture under William Bruce, which was indeed to prove a real dawn, of a brilliant epoch, but one that broadened slowly, and whose early work was mostly furth of Scotland. Literature, with the return of a Stewart king, had shown a certain impulse of revival, though more in scholarship than in creative activity. Sir George MacKenzie, fine scholar as well as lawyer, and founder of our National Library, had produced the first Scots novel . . . published in London. David Crawford and the son of Bishop Sydserf produced the first Scots drama since Charles I, a trio of lively comedies . . . played in London. The tradition of genre-verse in Scots, on the lines of *Peblis to the Play*, had been revived by the two Sempills of Beltrees, but though it was to bear rich fruit in the next century, the crop was still thin. Gaelic was in considerably better case, for the time is the Silver Age of modern Gaelic poetry, with a greater to come : the kirk sessions had never had power beyond the Line. Music, at all events vocal music, seems to have kept alive at least in the Lowlands, and in the Highlands was an integral part of the ordinary texture of life.

The Highlands, indeed, in most of the seventeenth century, were considerably more civilised than the Lowlands, and in its latter part they had not only more of the spiritual essentials of civilisation but a higher standard of material living. It is amusing to note how constantly Lowland and English writers, in speaking of the Highlands of the time, form a mental picture based on the good Burt. Burt was an Englishman : he had no Gaelic, and one gathers that his manners would not commend him to the punctilious : the attitude he took with him may be gauged from his references to Highland landscape. The hills are ‘ wild and hideous ’ and ‘ like a scabbed head,’ and the scenery has

> not much variety in it but gloomy spaces, different rocks, and heath high and low, the whole of a dismal brown drawing to purple, and most of all disagreeable when the heath is in bloom.

The picture drawn by Martin Martin in the sixteen-eighties is very different, and shows a community living with labour but in decency and with a good deal of the graces: Martin was a Gaelic-speaking Skyeman, M.D. of Leyden and a member of the Royal Society, and his minute and detailed survey, at first hand, of life in the Isles from Islay to the Shetlands is a first-rate piece of field ethnography, written at first-hand, in a very modern scientific temper, yet by a man who could live inside the community he describes as well as look on at it from the outside.[1]

The Highlands were poor enough, however, and the Lowlands were fairly beggared. Foreign trade was very nearly at an end, and was practically confined to England. The Union of the Crowns had lost the French market, Charles II’s wars the Dutch, and the German trade had been ruined by the Thirty Years War. Civil war at home had crippled trade, manufactures, and agriculture, so that even comparative peace for thirty years in the greater part of the country had not revived them: as Mr W. C. Mackenzie puts it,

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[1] Martin’s *Description of the Outer Isles* was recently republished by Mr Eneas Mackay of Stirling, and is invaluable to all students of the time.

‘ there was a difference of opinion whether the natural business of Scotland was soldiering or theology,’ but the habit of thinking that anything else was possible, or respectable, had hardly begun to revive. Further, the seven years after 1696 had been marked by constant disasters in storm and flood, early snow and summers of grey blighting weather, when thousands perished for sheer lack of food: in places the churchyards were all the ground that was fertile, and the people had to eat the weeds from them. In one parish in Lothian, on the richest soil in Scotland, 300 died out of 900, and in the North, thirteen families died on one farm out of sixteen, and other parishes were reduced to the half or even a third of their population. Even in ‘ normal ’ times of that generation, there were said to be 100,000 beggars in a population of about a million: that is, one in ten of the population had no resources but the charity which they received of neighbours. After the bad years, this proportion was doubled: that is, one in five of the population was a beggar. And the actual money in the whole of the country is computed at 15/- sterling a head.

> Indigence crippled [Scotland] at every point, sold her statesmen to English purses, starved her industries and seats of learning, drove the flower of her youth to foreign countries, and depressed her influence in the counsels of her neighbours.

England’s three centuries of continual attempt at first annexation and then annihilation had failed: in spite of even the worst of them the Thistle had risen obstinate in the sun. Now Scotland herself had done what her foes could not. Not Germany has more bitter cause to curse the seventeenth century than our own country.

Round about 1690, the civil preoccupation of the Government was the same as the ecclesiastical—to keep in power the party that had there placed them. The centre of William's policy was Holland: England was important as a Dutch asset, Scotland as something that if not firmly handled might conceivably prevent her from being that. Scotland otherwise was entirely negligible, unless as a possible area for recruiting. To the party in power this indifference was not ungrateful: they left him the foreign policy to handle while they entrenched themselves firmly at home, in the type of oligarchy the Stewarts so long had fought.

Since 1672 William had headed the allied opposition to Louis XIV's plans to secure first the Low Countries from Spain, and then, against Holland, Spain, and the Emperor, to win the 'natural frontier' of the Rhine. Louis had won much—part of the Netherlands, the last of the old Burgundian territory, and Strasburg, the key of Alsace. By the sixteen-eighties there was a fresh and larger bone of contention—the kingdom of Spain, whose heirship was disputed by Louis and the Emperor. If Louis should succeed the half-mad Charles II, the Pyrenees would be gone, and a Bourbon Empire be stronger than Charles V's. But France was financially drained by Louis's wars: England, with the fleet that James VII and II had made her, would be a deciding factor in the struggle. Now Louis supported one of her anti-kings: William, the head of the alliance against Louis, was himself the other. If Scotland renewed the old alliance with France, she might, even weakened, immobilise England. It was Ireland who very nearly achieved that. With more energy than Scotland, she stood for the Stewarts. James's cause was really lost there at the Boyne, on 1st July of 1690: but the previous month the English and Dutch fleets had been heavily defeated by France off Beachy Head, and the Irish war still continued. It was not till October 1691 that Sarsfield was duped to surrender Limerick by a promise of toleration for the Catholics, that was broken as soon as that safely could be done, when 12,000 of the Irish Jacobite troops had been politely helped to go abroad.

May Day of 1690 had apparently ended armed resistance in Scotland: but the clans, though leaderless, were at James's orders. The collapse of Ireland changed the situation. James, broken in health and in heart, had failed spectacularly as a leader. His son was a baby, the eldest of his daughters William's wife. France had her hands full: in Lowland Scotland the Whigs were in firm control. The chiefs, early in 1690, had refused William's bribes of money and titles. Two months after Cromdale, however, they made a truce. William offered an indemnity to those who took the oath to him by New Year's Day of 1692: otherwise, fire and sword. They hesitated, hoping still for French support. On the 12th December 1691, James, from St Germain, bade them submit. It was the 23rd before his letter reached the Highlands, and Major Menzies, who bore it, was worn out. There was bare time to send copies to the chiefs, and Menzies wisely sent another as well to the commander of the Whig troops at Glengarry.

That blocked the Whig plans. What these were is made plain by the correspondence of William's Secretary of State, the Master of Stair. Stair had hoped, with Breadalbane (a Campbell) as his agent, to win the chiefs peaceably, and had failed in a plan that would have earned the gratitude of William. Now he hoped therefore to earn that by other means—a general massacre of Highland Jacobites. On the 1st December he had been planning this, writing that winter was the only season when the Highlanders could not escape and 'carry their wives, bairns, and cattle to the hills.' Early in January, and with William's approval, he was writing that the lands of the Camerons and MacDonalds were to be destroyed, and hoping that the soldiers 'would not trouble the Government with prisoners.' Two days after that, he heard that all the chiefs had taken the oath, and remarked with annoyance 'I am sorry that Keppoch and Glencoe are safe.'

The latter was not. He was old: winter travel and a run of sheer bad luck had delayed him for some days past the New Year. He took the oath, but not till six days late. Menzies had written to the Council, begging for a prolongation of the time, as his own late arrival had delayed the chiefs. William's reaction to the request, in a letter countersigned by Stair, was orders for a general massacre. Lord Carmarthen, to his honour, intervened, and induced him to limit the business to an ' example.' Keppoch and Glencoe were suggested. Glencoe's delay gave available excuse, and his sept were Catholics. On 16th January, signed by William alone, orders were given ' to extirpate that sect of thieves '—*i.e.*, the MacIan MacDonalds of Glencoe.

It was convenient country: blocking the passes would turn the glen to a cage. Arrangements were made for collaboration between Clan Campbell, who of course were Whig, and Lowland troops. On the 1st February Campbell of Glenlyon, whose niece was married to a son of Glencoe's, took 120 of his clan on a friendly visit to the old chief, ' a person of great integrity, honour, good nature, and courage.' For twelve days the Campbells were the guests of the Glen, hospitably entertained: then the trap was sprung. On the 13th February, Glenlyon had been invited to dine with Glencoe, and accepted. He arrived early—in fact, some time before breakfast. At five o'clock in the morning, in bitter weather, the Campbells fell on their hosts. The old chief was murdered in his house as he rose from his bed to see about his guests. Musket and sword went through the villages. There was some bungling: the Lowland contingent was late, and some of the people got away to the hills, to the mercy of the face of Buachaille Etive, before the dawn of a night of heavy snow. They died more slowly there, and some escaped. But the glen was stripped bare of all save empty walls, and the bodies of those MacDonalds roused too late. Women and children and old men were among them.

'William,' says J. R. Green, 'was a born statesman.' But even the Whig Lowlands could not swallow such statecraft without a certain indigestion. A pamphlet defended Stair, praising his regular conduct of family worship, and declaring that such an excellent servant of the State should not be ill-seen for the death of some Highland Papists. But William, in 1695, had to appoint a commission of inquiry, which tactfully kept his name out of the business, and declared that Stair had exceeded his instructions. Stair was not brought to trial, and soon was again in favour, and the officers concerned remained in the service.

The episode of Glencoe, thus dismissed in 1695, is the real end of the Scots seventeenth century. That same year—the very next business of the Estates, in fact—brought another affair, one indeed connected with it, that though it embraces, as Scott said with truth, 'a more extensive field of death and disaster,' is the real beginning of that eighteenth century whose latter third shows such a brilliant if brief renaissance. This was the strange affair of the Darien Scheme.

Its beginnings go back to the European War. William was beaten badly by the French at Steenkerke in 1692, at Neerwinden next year: they also raided the

Anglo-Dutch Smyrna Fleet, and captured eighty-three ships. To sustain himself, he borrowed a million sterling, the foundation of the present National Debt. In order to deal with it and raise further loans, the Bank of England was founded the next year, by a wandering Scot, one William Paterson, who had among his assortment of past exploits been a buccaneer in Central America. The institution proved very successful, and is still, in a world of economic chaos, a synonym for safety. Paterson, however, was squeezed out of his directorate by the wealthy merchants of London, who in the words of the proverb liked 'their ain fish guts for their ain sea maws,' and he turned his talents then to his own country, with results that were very much less fortunate.

Now, Paterson had shown that he had broad vision to handle the great principles of trade: he had also revealed small grasp of practical detail, but that at the moment was much less apparent. Scotland was bankrupt: she must choose between vigorous measures or starvation, and Paterson put forward an idea. He had thought of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien between the two Americas, a place where Atlantic and Pacific were nearest. He thought it not Spanish property (which it was), but free for settlement.[1] Geographically, it was the key of both worlds, a magnificent situation for an entrepôt for goods from not only the Americas but the Indies. Scotland was gasping for a lead. Here she seemed to have one. There ensued the first of the wild commercial hysterias—the French Mississippi Scheme of 1717, the English South Sea Bubble of 1720—that succeed to such religious hysterias as the London Popish Plot or the wilder cantrips of the Cameronians. Scotland accepted it with the same kind of frenzy: after a century of violent negations, here was a positive at last to bite on. The English merchants were extremely pained that she should seek to restore her lost foreign trade: but Scots feeling ran high, William was still unpopular after Glencoe, and his expedition to Brest had failed completely. To keep Scotland quiet, he backed Paterson for a while, and Stair, anxious to retrieve the Glencoe blunder, took the same line. On the 26th June 1695 the Estates were permitted to grant a charter to a 'Company of Scotland Tradeing to Affrica and the Indies,' who were given a monopoly to trade with

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[1] He was not alone in the opinion: the London merchants thought the same.

> any Lands, Islands, Countreys or places in Asia, Affrica, or America, and there to plant Collonies, build Cityes, Touns, or Forts in or upon the places not inhabited or in or upon any other places by consent of the Natives or Inhabitants thereof, and not possessed by any European soveraign.

There was wild enthusiasm. Glencoe and the parity of presbyters dropped suddenly into ancient history. England was aghast. The Crown of the United Kingdoms was to give a Scottish enterprise the support it gave to the English East India Company! And the Scottish company, to the back of that, was exempted from the Navigation Act! The London merchants raged furiously together. To placate them, the directors of the new scheme offered a share. Half the capital was assigned to the London market, and London was given a prior chance to subscribe. London's opinion of the plan is clear : in nine days she had oversubscribed her assignment of £300,000. Holland and Hamburg raised this to half a million.

By September, however, William had taken Namur. It did not yet end his war, but it promised success. Placation of Scotland was no longer needed. When in November the English East India Company protested through the English Parliament that if Scotland should manage, after all, to recover, she might win a share in the East India trade, whose inexhaustible riches were a proverb, William felt he could afford to throw her over. He dismissed Stair, who must have felt somewhat pained, and gave the English Parliament a free hand. They threatened to impeach the English subscribers : the penalties for treason were not pretty, and the Englishmen withdrew their £300,000. They even threatened to impeach some Scots, residing in London, for the crime of subscribing their own money to a company formed with the King's approval in their own country. Yet England was still afraid of the scheme succeeding. William's ambassadors were set to work to induce the Hamburg merchants to withdraw, and those of Holland were ordered to do so likewise. The Hamburgers protested at the insolence, but being afraid for their money they obeyed, as of course did William's own country, and the half-million of foreign capital, subscribed so eagerly, shrank to £15,000.

The chicanery roused Scotland, naturally. The London merchants had been given the first innings in subscribing. Now those of Scotland were asked to play their part. This was in February, and the demand was for £400,000—more than half the total money in the country. By August it was subscribed, and half paid up.

The scheme had been modified, and directed to India. Now the Company returned to Paterson's original idea, of Darien. It was indeed 'the door of the seas:' but it was also sodden with malaria, and the Scot who coped with that scourge, and made possible the Panama Canal, was not born till the nineteenth century. Thereafter, too, internal mismanagement was added to external hostility. (In September 1697 William had made the Peace of Ryswick with France, and Louis had acknowledged him as King, so that he did not need to keep Scotland in play.) The ships did not sail till July 1698: no one knew anything of the local conditions, or what goods might sell. 1200 colonists sailed with a cargo that was mainly of tweeds, serges, and woollen stockings (for a settlement 8° from the Equator) with such matters as wigs, blue bonnets, and brown paper: and their provisions were short also . . . though in this point the organisers were less to blame, having naturally assumed the possibility of trade with the English provinces of North America and the English West Indies, where provisions were ample. These could, and did, trade with buccaneers and pirates, to whom the Caribbean was a playground. Scots, however, were another matter : the Governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and New York proclaimed that William knew nothing of the settlement, which was a plain lie, and that it was contrary to the late peace, although no European power had complained. The English colonists were therefore warned that any sale of provisions, arms, or ammunition to the Scots would lay them open to heavy penalties.

By next June, the 900 survivors abandoned New Edinburgh, and went home. A supporting expedition arrived too late, losing a ship on the way, and sailed to Jamaica, where most died. In November 1699 a third expedition of 1300 arrived, having heard of course nothing of the other two. These again nearly starved, but hung on, in spite of hunger and fever, until February. Then Spain took a hand. Spain was anxious to keep on friendly terms with William, and in the two years since the settlement had been mooted had raised no complaint : now, finding the Scots virtual outlaws, the Spaniards protested and seized one of the Company's ships. The Company petitioned William for protection. He refused even to receive the petition. Spain attacked directly then. The settlement held out, under Campbell of Finab, for six weeks of a most gallant resistance, when their water became exhausted, and they surrendered with the honours of war—so few and so weak that the Spaniards had to help them to weigh the anchor of their only ship. The chief British colony in the New World today is mainly a Scots one : but our country's first adventures in that hemisphere, outwith the Nova Scotian of 1621, cost 2000 lives, a third of the nation's money, and most of the fleet of the company that made it.

There was wild fury. Reprisals were demanded against Spain. The question of the Spanish Succession, however, had become acute soon after the first ships had sailed. Charles II had nearly died, and William and Louis agreed to divide his possessions between the three claimants . . . whereupon Charles recovered and made his will. While the Spaniards were attacking Darien, the new heir died. William found more reasons for placating Spain than for giving any sort of assistance to Scotland.

Part of the blame for failure was Scotland's own : there is no doubt of that. But William's handling of the English merchants, of the Dutch and Hamburgers, of the overseas food-supply on which the colonists had quite reasonably counted, his more than indifference to any Scottish interest, were unpleasing conduct in a King of Scotland. In 1700 nothing saved a renewal of the Three Hundred Years War but the cogent fact of Scotland's sheer exhaustion. The national capital—15/- a head—had been reduced to something under 10/-. And though munitions cost less in 1700 than they do now, the old days when the local smith made pikeheads, and the shafts came from the wood behind the house, were past and not likely to return again.

Darien roused worse feeling between the countries than at any time for at least a generation. It also determined their union within a decade, for it made a part of Scotland at least consider that the only way of checkmating English attempts to prevent her from staving off immediate ruin was identification of the countries' interests, while on the other hand it gave England her chance to extort a union on the terms she chose.

In the history of the eight years that follow, the process of union is the central fact. The idea, of course, was anything but new. Attempts to accomplish it by force of arms, from the English side, go back as far as Cnut, or indeed further—before one can fairly say there is a Scotland. These had failed in succession, and spectacularly, in the end giving England to the King of Scots. More peaceful means had also been attempted, and more than once Scotland had shown herself willing for peaceful federation. At the end of the Hundred Years Peace the Treaty of Birgham,[1] though careful in safeguards of autonomy, displays that willingness. It had been sealed, but the little Queen Margaret's death had ended it. Henry VIII [2] had attempted to revive it, even won assent for a while, but defeated his ends by the methods he had chosen to attain them. James VI had endeavoured it : his peaceful accession to the English throne promised a real chance for closer relations without aggression or loss of dignity.[2] The Scots had been willing then, and even friendly, offering generous terms: the English, furious over the final failure of three hundred years of attempts at annexation, refused to consider any terms at all. Cromwell had forced a shattered and weakened Scotland to submit to become, in effect, an English province. The return of the Stewarts had brought that scheme to an end, and Cromwell's terms had made Scotland change her mind: when Charles II revived it she refused point blank. Now William desired it, as part of his European policy, that policy whose core was the welfare of Holland. For a generation, to be sure, Scotland had been governed, ultimately, from London: but not by London. She had accepted a London-made revolution which had put her 'Opposition' into power: but now that they had been securely established, it was possible that they might get out of hand, while the present Opposition, the old Government Party, had just as much liking for William as he for them. And in autumn of 1700 Charles II died at last, and left the Spanish throne to the Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. There were no more Pyrenees, and the Bourbon Empire, that William had spent a fighting life to prevent, was virtually in being in spite of him. At the same time also, a succession problem threatened nearer home. Only a few months before Charles of Spain, the little Duke of Gloucester had also died: he was the only child left to Princess Anne. William had, and it was believed could have, no children. Mary was dead in 1694. Anne was his heir, and since there was no provision for further succession, it was possible that Scotland might back her brother, who in 1700 was a child of twelve, whose ejected father now was old and failing.

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[1] See *Robert Bruce King of Scots*, p. 38.

[2] See *The Scotland of Queen Mary*, pp. 67 and 270.

William's party had already, in 1689, suggested union. No one in Scotland would have it then, however, not even the main body of the Whigs, since England would clearly stay Episcopalian. Commissioners, notwithstanding, had been appointed: but the scheme was dropped perforce. Now it revived. It was clear that the succession had to be fixed. (See genealogy.) The heir of line was William's brother-in-law, excluded as Catholic by the Bill of Rights. Next came Anne, then William himself, both childless. Next after them was their cousin the Duchess of Savoy: and she also was Catholic.[1] So were the senior descendants of Elizabeth of Bohemia, of whom the eldest was the Duchess's half-brother, heir of the Duke of Orleans. In fact, to find a Protestant heir at all they had to go back to the twelfth of Elizabeth of Bohemia's thirteen children, Sophia, Electress of Hanover, grand-daughter of James VI and first cousin once removed of both William and Anne, a very lively lady of seventy-two, who was a Protestant with a Protestant husband and a quartette of sons whose Protestantism was possibly their most eligible feature.[1] The reversion of the English Crown was settled on her, with her son George as her heir. But Scotland had not determined her own succession, and in September 1701 two things occurred. On the 7th William took Holland and the Three Kingdoms into a Grand Alliance with the Emperor, Denmark, and Sweden against France: and nine days later James VII and II died at St Germain, and Louis had his young son of thirteen proclaimed as heir to the triple throne of his father. James VII had been deposed with Scots acquiescence. Now he was dead. Would Scotland now accept his son as James VIII, and renew the Auld Alliance with King Louis, or would she stay by England and James's sister?

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[1] It is claimed that the descendants of this lady, represented at present by the ex-Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, are the *de iure* heirs of the Stewarts. They are in fact the eldest line by blood, but cannot claim any sort of right to heirship, as Prince Rupprecht's great-grandmother, Maria-Beatrice of Sardinia (heir of the Duchess of Savoy above) married her uncle: and since by Scots or English law such a marriage is invalidable, her posterity cannot be considered, in this country, legitimate. The senior legitimate descendants of the Stewarts would be the line of Charles Louis, Count Palatine, the second son of Elizabeth of Bohemia, represented at present by the head of the house of Bourbon-Orleans, the Duc de Guise, *de iure* King of France.

There was reason for some doubt upon the question. It is not a Scotsman who remarks, and with truth, 'for a hundred years her interests had been almost uninterruptedly subordinated to those of her neighbours:' and the Darien business had not obscured the fact. England, which lately had shown a Tory reaction, took swift alarm, and went very violently Whig. The English Parliament (which two years before had cut down the standing army) voted large supplies, and passed an Act of Attainder against Prince James, while William pressed on his purpose of a Union, telling the English Parliament, on the 28th February 1702, that he would count it 'a peculiar felicity.' But he was dying, for a week before his horse had come down at a mole-hill, and thrown him badly. On the 8th March he died. In 1788 it was proposed to commemorate the centenary of his accession by raising a monument in Edinburgh. A letter to a newspaper suggested that the plinth might well bear the names of two of his three most notable Scots achievements, *Glencoe* and *Darien*. The scheme was dropped, and his only memorial in his northern kingdom is her Established Church, which still regards him with a profound and grateful veneration.

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[1] The only Protestant alternatives to Sophia were for Scotland, the Duke of Hamilton, seventh in descent from Princess Mary, daughter of James II, who died in 1488, and for England the Duke of Somerset, seventh in descent from Princess Mary, daughter of Henry VII, who died in 1533.

Anne was Queen now—the last Stewart who held the throne, the last sovereign of Scotland for over a century who had seen the country. She knew little of it, but her girlhood memories of Holyrood were kind, and she wished it well, as indeed she did most things and people, including her brother. She was thirty-seven, but she gives the impression of being elderly: incessant child-bearing, no less incessant bereavement, and perhaps the subconscious struggle in her mind, between crossing loyalties, had worn her out. She was, again, kind: her kingdoms were not factors in an equation, but something for which she was responsible, something affecting human happiness. She was as devout as her father or her grandfather, and of the latter's Right Wing Episcopalianism. A grand-daughter of

Ned Hyde, she was far from a fool: but she had simple, human, and hungry affections, and her friend Sarah Jennings and Sarah Jennings's husband, John Churchill, later Duke of Marlborough, fed their hunger to more content than her sequence of dead babies or the decent, completely stupid soul her husband. For ten years England and foreign policy were directed by a team composed of Anne herself, the Marlboroughs and Godolphin, the latter a statesman of real ability.

Anne took up the lines of William II's policy. On the 11th March, her reign three days old, she bade the English Parliament 'consider of proper methods towards attaining a Union between England and Scotland.' On 4th May she declared war on France and Spain, and gave command to Marlborough, one of the greatest soldiers of all time, an able politician with a queer blend of genius, greed, a callous perfidy, a deep devotion to his fiery wife, and a sincere affection for his Queen. Two days later Anne gave her assent to an English Act ordaining a commission to treat for union. The task took five years, and by the end of the third the countries appeared to be heading straight for war.

The Estates reassembled in June 1702. There was trouble at once: their status was very uncertain. Barclay's plot against William in 1696 had caused it to be enacted that if the sovereign should die with the Estates not sitting they must be convened to meet within twenty days. They had not been, and the Opposition declared them automatically dissolved; and the technical objection was strengthened by the fact that the extant Estates were still the rather dubious Convention of 1688—fourteen years before. There were clamours for a new election, and the Whig government disliked the thought. Recent developments had produced a new party in the country. There were still the Whigs, Presbyterian and Williamite, and now for Anne, Union, and their own continuance in power. There were what were now called the Tories or Cavaliers, the old Episcopalian and pro-Stewart party, who favoured James, either at once or, more commonly just now, as heir to his sister. Finally, there was a third section, calling themselves the Country Party, whose motto was Scotland First: these were men of both religions, and rather indifferent as between Anne and James. The Darien affair had strengthened them, and it seems certain that on any sort of democratic franchise they would have had a sweeping majority.

Parliamentary tactics, however, were still crude. The Estates met, and in accordance with the bad Scots practice, the Opposition, headed by Hamilton, walked out, leaving business to be controlled by a Whig 'Rump': these followed the English example, producing an Act affirming the Queen's right, and repeating the Assurance 'as against the pretended Prince of Wales' . . . and even in a Parliament purged of Jacobites it only passed its first reading by four votes. They then prayed the Queen to appoint Commissioners for Union, with due regard to the Presbyterian Establishment.

The Commission did meet, on the 27th October, in the appropriate locus of the Cockpit at Whitehall. There was much talk. The chief concern of the English was to secure the succession of the Three Kingdoms to the Electress Sophia. The Scots assented to the principle of a common monarchy and parliament, but demanded as pre-condition 'a mutual communication of trade.' The English agreed, again in principle, but would not discuss practice until Scotland accepted the Act of Settlement. Giving a conditional acceptance, the Scots defined the 'mutual communication' as meaning free trade, no adverse mutual restrictions on imports or exports, no rise in Scots taxation, and repeal of the English Navigation Act, which pressed harshly on the Scottish carrying trade. By February there had been a vague general agreement on all these points: but the English, though driven to assent by Anne and Godolphin, were apathetic and almost insolently negligent, the Scots were disgusted by the atmosphere, and Anne, praising both sides for what they had achieved, adjourned the Commission, which never met again.

The 6th of May 1703 saw the last Scottish Parliament assemble. The sixty-seven members for the burghs rode up the broad High Street in their official black velvet, each with his lackey, and then the eighty-seven lairds for the shires, and then the nobles—but sixty-four were present—riding rank by rank, the Dukes last, each of them with eight attendants, and last of all the gleam in the late spring sun of the Honours of Scotland, Sceptre, Sword, and Crown, that were soon to be coffined deep for a hundred years. The Jacobites had by now been amnestied: there were therefore a good many Cavaliers, and the Officers of State were no longer entirely Whigs, but a coalition. The Whig Queensberry was Commissioner—he, a Douglas, is a name to recall in what follows. The leader of the Cavaliers was the Duke of Hamilton, the first subject in Scotland, a Douglas also but through his mother heir to the Hamilton claims, and heir too of the flickering temperament of his grandfather the first Duke, he who had lost in 1649 the head that 'folk said wasna a very gude ane.' The Country Party were led by Tweed-dale, a man liked and respected but not strong. And all by himself, as brilliant and as honest as his sword, was Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, fierce for Scotland.

It was a wild session. The prime business of the Government was to secure the Queen's recognition and obtain supply. Queensberry hoped that the Cavaliers would back him, in gratitude for their amnesty. In fact, on the 19th May the Estates did recognise Queen Anne as sovereign, and made it high treason to impugn her right, and the Cavalier Home brought a measure for supply. But the Country Party had seen in the situation a weapon against the threatened trade war with England, and Tweed-dale produced an overture (as we say, a bill) that

> before all other business the Parliament [might] proceed to make such conditions of government and regulations in the

> constitution of this Kingdom to take place after the decease of Her Majesty and the heirs of her body as shall be necessary for the preservation of our religion and liberty.

For the moment it was left to lie on the table . . . but so also was the measure for supply, and on the 9th June Tullibardine, speaking for the Country Party, threw down the gauntlet with a resounding clash, by proposing an Act for Security, which indeed restricted the Succession to a Protestant of the Royal Line, but in the event of the Queen dying childless, vested the Sovereign's power in the Estates, who were categorically bound *not* to elect to the Throne the person who should hold the throne of England, unless at once

> there be such conditions of Government settled and enacted as may secure the honour and independency of the Crown of this Kingdom, the freedom, frequency, and power of the Parliament, and the Religion, liberty and trade of the Nation from English or any forraigne influence.

For the rest of June there was flaming debate on this—at times, says a witness, 'with our hands on our swords.' Various alternative forms for the Act were produced, and Saltoun put forward twelve Limitations or safeguards, to define the constitution in case the countries should after all choose the same sovereign: ''tis not the prerogative of a King of Scotland I would diminish, but the prerogative of English ministers over this nation.' He desired

> that so long as we continue to be under the same Prince with our neighbour nation we may be free from the influence of English Councils and ministers; that the nation may not be impoverished by an expensive attendance at Court; and that

> the force and exercise of the government may be as far as possible within ourselves. By which means trade, manufactures, and husbandry will flourish, and the affairs of the nation be no longer neglected as they have been hitherto . . . If we despise or neglect this occasion, we have voted our perpetual dependence on another nation.

Saltoun's scheme, as it stood, fitted no party, but it profoundly affected the finished Act, which, fought out clause by clause, was passed by sixty votes on the 13th August. Its essence was that although the Crown of Scotland must be held by a Protestant of the royal line,

> the same person [should] in no event be capable to be King or Queen of both kingdoms . . . unless that there [should be] such conditions of Government settled and enacted as may secure the honour and Sovereignty of the Crown and the Kingdom, the freedom, frequency and power of Parliaments, the religion, liberty, and trade of the nation from English or any foreign influence . . . and unless a free communication of trade and the freedom of Navigation and the liberty of the Plantations [=colonies] be fully agreed to and established by . . . England to . . . Scotland . . . to the satisfaction of the . . . Parliament of Scotland.

Further, all Protestant fencible men were to arm and drill, and all commissions 'above a captain' were to be voided by the death of Queen Anne.

A week later this Act was followed by another, which like much of the Act of Security itself derived from one of Saltoun's Limitations. This was the Act anent Peace and War. It was frankly intended as sanction to the other: even if the Union of Crowns should survive the Queen, her successor might not commit Scotland to war on the Continent, or to any treaty of peace, commerce, or alliance, without the consent of the Estates, who signed it redly, not in blood but in claret. England (with a Grand Alliance now joined by Spain and Holland) had been at war with France for over a year: and an act was now passed arranging for the import of French wines. On top of that, when Marchmont moved a settlement of the succession on the House of Hanover, there were proposals the motion should be burnt and its mover sent to the Castle, while it was itself thrown out by fifty-seven votes: and a further attempt to raise a subsidy caused two hours of vociferous shouts for 'Liberty and no Subsidy,' while the Foot Guards were ordered to stand by for a riot.

The session ended on the 16th September. Queensberry 'touched' the Peace and War Act and the Wine Act with the rest, but refused to touch the Act of Security: whereon the Estates refused supply till he did. When they rose the Government still lacked needed funds, had been forced to weaken the royal prerogative and was faced with a threat of a breach of the Union of Crowns, with a possibility of a French alliance unless England surrendered on the point of trade: and Franco-Scots alliance had cost England dear in the past.[1]

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[1] Saltoun's tract of December 1703, *An Account of a Conversation*, is worth study. It purports to give a discussion between himself, Cromartie, a Unionist Scot, and two Englishmen, one a broad-minded and intelligent moderate, the other a shoot-'em-down squire, on the subject of federal *versus* incorporative union. Besides being a fine piece of dramatic writing, full of incidental good things like the famous saying about 'the ballads of a country,' it sums up the position with a brilliant, witty, and courteous lucidity. Much of it is highly topical at present, not only on terms of union, but on centralisation and urbanisation, and on the role of youth in politics.

England generally was slow to grasp the situation, but Marlborough and Godolphin were alarmed. Their plan now was to split the leaders of the Estates. The Tory Athol was given the dukedom he wanted, Tarbat the Earldom of Cromartie. It worked. Queensberry attacked Athol, using ‘ the Fox,’ Simon Fraser, Master of Lovat, to bring him down. Lovat was a man voluminously treacherous for mere artistic pleasure as much as for gain, though he always thought himself worthy of his hire. Now he was running a St Germain intrigue, with a foot, as usual, in the other camp : he very obligingly involved Athol, and put the proof into Queensberry’s hands . . . and then the facts came out. Athol was cleared of the plot, and Queensberry crashed, though not, as it proved, for good. But the matter had made a noise, and roused a good deal of alarm besouth the Border. The English Lords appointed a Committee, who decerned that in fact there had been a plot, that the Scots’ delay concerning the succession had made it possible, and that the Queen must be urged to settle the matter.

The foreign interference roused the Country Party. Tension increased between the countries, with for background the still inconclusive War of the Spanish Succession. In June 1704 Marlborough launched his great stroke of strategy, the march on the Danube : before its results could be known the Estates had met once more, on the 6th July. The Queen’s message showed that she was deeply distressed. Godolphin also had realised the danger, and considered the Union essential to England's safety: and now he played a bold game. Tweed-dale, of the Country Party, was in Queensberry's place as Commissioner: on the 13th July, led by Hamilton and backed by Saltoun, the Estates, after ' great heats,' re-passed the Security Act by a large majority, and there were wild scenes of joy in Edinburgh. And on the 5th August, by Godolphin's advice, Anne ' touched ' the Act, and gave it the force of law: and supply for six months was granted as reward.

The ratification of the Act woke England. Marlborough's victory of Blenheim a week later cost the victors 14,000 in casualties, but staved off immediate Continental danger. Scotland, however, had at once set on foot the militia permitted by the Act, and England was so much alarmed at the gesture that Godolphin had hard work to save his political skin, and only did so by the help of the Queen and the Marlboroughs. The English Parliament showed their sense of the core of the dispute by passing, on 14th March 1705, an ' Act for the Effectual Securing of the Kingdom of England from the Apparent Dangers that may arise from several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland;' more briefly, the Alien Act. It provided for a Commission for Union: but unless by Christmas the Scottish Succession were settled on the Electress, no Scot not resident in England or Ireland might hold property in England (where Hamilton had huge estates), Scots linen, coal, and cattle might not be imported, and English wool, horses, or arms might not be exported to Scotland. It was also proposed to fortify Carlisle, Berwick, and Newcastle, call out the Northern Militia, and send regulars to garrison the Border.

Explosives piled up : and while the Alien Act was in debate, that occurred that nearly put the spark to them. Declaring that she had infringed their privileges, the East India Company had procured the seizure in the Thames of the ship *Annandale*, belonging to the Company of Scotland. Then the *Worcester*, an English ship thought (wrongly) to belong to the East India Company, put into the Forth, and the Company of Scotland demanded she should be seized in turn as reprisal. This was refused, whereon their Secretary, Roderick Mackenzie, went off with a band of friends and seized her himself, under the guns of an English man of war. Then matters grew more involved. The *Worcester* proved to be armed like a fighting ship : she carried a cipher code-book, and one of her men, having quenched his thirst a trifle copiously, hinted genially at dirty work in the past. Piracy was of course the concern of all nations : the authorities moved then, and examined the crew, who emitted some rather varied declarations, which with a little help from flying rumour, roused a popular belief that the *Worcester* was not only a pirate, but that as such she was responsible for the sinking of a Scots ship, the *Speedy Return*, which after coming home from Darien had sailed to the East and never been heard of since. Captain Green of the *Worcester* and fourteen of his men were therefore arrested, and on the 5th March were tried before the Court of Admiralty. It was a muddled, evil tempered business, with the mob raving for a rope. Three of the pannels turned Queen's evidence. It seems to be clear that Green had played the pirate, which by international law would qualify him in any case for the gallows; but the evidence as to the actual instance of the *Speedy Return* is inconclusive. Green was hanged, however, with his mate and gunner, on the 11th April, the rest getting off.

Now the trial overlapped the debate on the Alien Act, and it roused fury in England. In the spring of 1705 war seemed more imminent between the countries than on any occasion since the Raid of the Reidswire—a good deal more so than on several occasions when it actually had exploded in the past. Two years later, the Union had come, and without a blow.

There had been a tangle of intrigue all winter. It eventuated on the 28th of June, when the sitting Parliament met for the third time. The Commissioner now was the young Duke of Argyle, one of the ablest men of his generation. Loudoun, also a Campbell, was one of the Secretaries. Seafield, the Chameleon of his day, was Chancellor: and the winter had worked a change in the Country Party. Tweed-dale's dispossessed administration had gathered themselves together to form a new party that was later known as the Squadrone Volante: they were small in number (twenty-four) but compact, and they were no longer for Scotland, but for themselves, and ready to swing their convenient block of votes to the 'Courtiers' or 'Cavaliers' as should best serve them. Their defection, incidentally, caused a duel between Saltoun and the Roxburgh to whom, when he had been loyal, the *Conversation* had been dedicated : it was ostensibly over something else, but this was the root. The Horse Guards, however, stopped it on the ground.

The new ministry had arranged their campaign with Godolphin. The plan was to settle the Succession first, and if that should fail, to proceed to a Treaty of Union. The affair was tactfully handled. Instead of proceeding at once to what filled men's minds, the Ministers dealt with routine matters of trade and finance, and allowed the violent emotions time to cool. It was not until the 17th July that Hamilton, now recognised as the leader of the National Party, was able to re-introduce his proposal of the previous session, that

> this Parliament will not proceed to the nomination of a Successor till we have a previous treaty with England in relation to our commerce and other concerns with that nation.

On the 20th the Earl of Mar (Bobbing John of the 'Fifteen) offered an alternative, an Act Proposing a Treaty of Union with England. Hamilton's passed by a large majority, although the Squadrone Volante voted against it.

The Estates were now four-cornered. The Court Party was predominantly Whig, and out for the Electress and the Union. The official Opposition were Cavalier, whose tactic was to check the recognition of the Electress by proposing limitations the Courtiers would not accept. What was left of the Country Party would vote with them on the major questions at issue. The Squadrone were an incalculable factor: they hoped to hold the balance of voting power. They had opposed Hamilton, though unsuccessfully: now when on the 31st the Government brought forward an officially drafted Bill for a Treaty of Union, they voted against it, this time with success, the House adopting instead Saltoun's counter-measure, that

> the Parliament, notwithstanding the unneighbourly and injurious usage received by an Act lately passed in the Parliament of England [*i.e.*, the Alien Act] . . . is still willing to enter into a treaty with England, but that it is not consistent with the honour and interest of this independent kingdom to make any Act or appoint Commissioners for that end, until the Parliament of England do propose the same in a more neighbourly and friendly manner.

It is a significant motion. That it should be brought at all, and by Saltoun of all men, shows opinion had turned to acceptance of a Union: the real question now was to be its nature, whether incorporative or federal.

Debate then swung off to constitutional amendment and the defining of the royal power, always with an eye to Scotland's freedom within possible union. It went furiously through the summer, Argyle bewailing 'they are all stark mad;' and Seafield in a canny privacy worked indefatigably on the Squadrone. By way of light relief, Atwood, an English lawyer of some repute, chose the moment to produce a solemn treatise, *The Superiority and Direct Dominion of the Imperial Crown of England over the Crown and Kingdom of Scotland*, where all the familiar mediaeval chimaeras are trotted out again and put through the hoop to adorn the sufficiently surprising statement that Scotland is ‘ an appurtenance ’ of England, on the same footing as Wales,[1] and that any demand from her for federal union is a mere impertinence. It was burnt by the hangman.

On the 24th August it was proposed to consider the English Treaty at the next sitting. Saltoun replied as before, backed by Belhaven, Hamilton, and Athol. The Ministers were driven to promise an appeal to the Queen, to induce her to have the Alien Act repealed. Hamilton tried to add a clause to the Treaty Bill that would have shackled commissioners for a treaty from agreeing to an incorporating union. The ministry reaped the reward of their Fabian tactics : some seven Opposition members were absent, and the proposal was lost by a mere two votes.

Nomination of the Commission was then discussed. And Argyle dealt underground with Hamilton, and successfully, for the latter now proposed, on the 1st September, that they should be appointed by the Queen—*i.e.*, by the Court Whigs, under English influence. The Squadrone, who had voted for the measure that was to check incorporative union, now voted for this one, that made it certain. For it was carried: some dozen of Hamilton's scandalised supporters threw their hand in and walked out, without voting. Saltoun, fighting stubbornly to the last ditch, demanded a general election on the issue. It would of course have meant a certain defeat for any sort of incorporative proposals, and since the Government knew that as well as he did, they were very careful not to go to the country.

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[1] Only a few years ago the same statement, quite seriously believed and without any intention of offence, was made to the author by a well-educated and intelligent Englishwoman, keenly interested in politics. Two others, who were present and heard a friendly résumé of the actual facts, admitted that they had always believed it too.

The English Alien Act was repealed in November. In February the Queen, or rather her Ministers, appointed thirty-one Scots Commissioners: and thirty were men who would vote obediently for incorporation. The chief adviser was Marchmont, once the Hume of Polwarth of the Monmouth venture. Hamilton had been bribed off with a promised Commissionership: he did not get it, and Argyle, who had made the promise, refused an invitation to one himself. His brother was there, however, and also Loudoun—no other Highlanders save Grant of Grant and the Earl of Sutherland. Queensberry and Morton, Douglases, were there, and Stair with two more Dalrymples, with the Provost of Edinburgh and the ex-Provost of Glasgow, and the greater part of the Officers of State. 'Cardinal' Carstares worked too behind the scenes, as intermediary between Scots and English: he was instructed that the English 'think all notions about a federal union a mere jest and chimaera,' but ordered to keep the fact dark, for fear the people ‘ should despair of the treaty.’ He obeyed, and the country was quiet until it was too late to organise. The English appointments were not made till April : fourteen of them (and twelve of the Scots) were drawn from the old Commission of 1702. All were men of standing, and all save one were ‘ safe.’ As Professor C. S. Terry has remarked, the Commission was definitely intended to act as a Committee of the Articles, to draft a bill for Parliament to vote on.

From the 11th April of 1706 till the 22nd July they sat at Whitehall, Scots and English in a careful and ostentatious separation, not even asking each other to dinner. The proceedings were conducted in strict privacy. On the 22nd the English formally proposed the union of the kingdoms, under the title of Great Britain, settlement on the Electress Sophia, and representation by ‘ one and the same Parliament.’ The Scots, to save their faces, proposed a federal union, with the same title and settlement, which was rejected.

The conditions were then discussed. The English were quite frank on their resolution to have Scotland in a position of helpless dependence, but this secured, would concede on inessentials in order to keep the pretence of free debate. Now they offered free trade at home and overseas . . . so far as the English Chartered Companies allowed. The fiscal side came next. Equal trading rights meant a case for equal taxes. Now England had a National Debt of £18,000,000—three years’ revenue. The Scots one was £160,000—one year's revenue. The result of a war in which Scotland was not concerned was that England was sunk in high-pressure taxation, on everything from house windows to birth, death, and marriage. On the other hand, English revenue from the Land Tax was, at war rates, £2,000,000. The Scots Land Tax brought £3,600. That Scotland should be taxed at the English war rate, or to pay a huge National Debt she had not incurred, was more than even the Commission could press for, beyond a certain point at any rate. The Scots were promised therefore (they were unusually stiff on the fiscal point, as their own personal interests were affected) that certain commodities taxed in England should remain untaxed for a time, especially malt, till next summer, and salt, for seven years. (Fresh meat, for half the year, was almost unprocurable, and before tea and coffee were in general use, ale of some kind was the universal table beverage of most of the people.) The Land Tax was budgetted at £48,000—only a fortieth of the English, no doubt, but still some thirteen times what it had been. The English revenue from customs and excise was £2,300,000, the Scots £65,000: the rates for the two were now to be the same. As for the National Debts, Scotland was to join in paying off the English: but as that meant charging her with the repayment of some £3,000,000 she had not incurred, she was to receive an 'Equivalent' of £398,085:10:0, to settle her own National Debt, refund the capital of the Darien Company (which must then be dissolved) encourage fisheries and manufactures (in whose prosperity England now had an interest) and adjust the coinage to the English standard.

These matters were settled by late May. Those of law and judicature followed. With four Lords of Session on a Commission of landed proprietors, the Commissioners were naturally disinclined to give up a system based firmly on the Roman Code for the tumultuous chaos of English case-law: the laws were therefore to remain ‘until altered by the [as yet undefined] Parliament of Great Britain,’ though Public Law must assimilate to English. No appeal should lie from one country to the other. The Privy Council, heritable jurisdictions, and the rights of the royal burghs were safeguarded: these involved very powerful vested interests, who could easily sway the balance of the Estates.

By mid-June they had reached the vital question of the joint Parliament. By now there was news of Ramillies, fought on May 12th, which lost the French all Brabant and great part of Spanish Flanders, while in Italy too the war was going against them. Conciliation of Scotland was less needed. The English Parliament was to remain exactly as it stood. The Scots was to be abolished, and the country's representation reduced to a small number who were to sit in the English one. What that number should be was then debated. Scotland, outwith the hereditary members, sent up a hundred and fifty-four. On proportion of taxation (so long as the English war rates were in force) she was entitled only to thirteen. On population, her share has been assessed by historians of both nations at numbers varying from eighty to 170. The figure under Cromwell had been thirty. Now the English proposed thirty-eight and the Scots fifty. They compromised at last on forty-five, or one more than the English county of Cornwall, but as counter-compromise the Scots peers were not to be entitled to sit as such. The 153 must elect sixteen of their number, who would be admitted to the House of Lords, in which hardly a title went back before 1485. And appeals from the Court of Session, which had previously lain to the Estates, must now of necessity go to this body, so that a previous clause was already broken.

Finally, they discussed certain externals, those signs on which a nation's status largely depends before the imagination of foreigners, who are generally unacquainted with her past history. English coinage and weights and measures should serve for both. The Great Seal was to be a joint one. The national flag should incorporate St Andrew's Cross and St George's. The Royal Arms, as officially used in each kingdom, should be quartered with precedence to that in which they were used—*i.e.*, in Scotland the Lion Rampant occupies the first and third quarters, the Unicorn is the dexter supporter, and the crest is the Lion Sejant, in England conversely. The arrangement fits the courtesy of nations, but until lately it was seldom observed, nor is it invariably at the present day: the corresponding one concerning the royal title was probably not discussed, as for over a century there was no occasion: with William 'IV' came in the ungracious usage of wiping out the history of Scotland.

By the 22nd July, the Treaty had been digested to twenty-five articles and the date for the Union was fixed for 1st May next year: it is not reputed a lucky month to marry. Fifty-three of the sixty-two Commissioners signed their names. A copy went to Queen Anne, two to the English Houses of Parliament, one to the Estates, with stringent orders that it should be kept secret until they should meet.

They met on the 3rd October, and before that date the fact had come to light that the Union was to be incorporating. Up went the country then, in sound and fury, that in practice were to signify—just that. They were in earnest for the time, however; but as the situation stood, nothing could stop the Treaty but a war in which Scotland would fight disarmed with one hand tied down. The shires and burghs could do nothing in the Estates without the refused election, save to petition. Petitions swarmed, all against the Treaty and all equally useless: Argyle, in fact, proposed to make kites of them. The common people flared up: there were violent riots in Glasgow and Edinburgh, and the Army was doubtful. The Presbyterians of the burgess and working class showed more national feeling than usual, for they feared that (as happened in fact after 1900) a Parliament mainly of English Episcopalians might deal with Presbyterian Church affairs. The Scots Episcopalians were nationalist, and many, besides, did not welcome the Electress and her German son.

England, as a whole, was not much better pleased. She objected violently, as she still does, to the United Kingdom being called anything but England ; to the fiscal concessions ; to the presence of sixteen elective peers in the Lords ; to Presbyterians in Parliament ; to the breach of her monopoly overseas. Had it not been for the War of the Spanish Succession, she would certainly have refused to accept the Treaty. And had it not been for the Civil War, nothing would have made Scotland accept it either. The real founders of the Union, in fact, were on the one hand William of Orange, Louis XIV of France, and the Emperor Leopold, on the other Andrew Melville and Charles I : and Louis, the only one of them still alive, disliked it nearly as much as Andrew Fletcher.

The Estates met, for the last time, on the 3rd October, with Queensberry on the Throne. The Cavalier and Country Parties demanded detailed discussion of the terms. It was granted. They demanded to go to the country. It was refused. By the 23rd, the Edinburgh crowds were ' raging about the streets ' and cheering Hamilton, whom they chose to regard as the champion of nationalism. Both sides made furious efforts. The Opposition stirred up the Church. On the 8th November the General Assembly claimed that the Coronation Oath must bind the Sovereign to the Presbyterian Establishment, and that there must be machinery ' for redressing grievances, such as the growth of Popery.' Also, if the English Test Act were applied, it meant taking the Sacrament by Anglican rites. These points did not inconvenience England: they were yielded at once, and an Act was passed making the Presbyterian Establishment a fundamental and unalterable condition of the Treaty. The Establishment's opposition ceased at once, for *incolumi Iove*, they had no objection to an incorporating union as such. The Cameronians, however, still protested that a union with an Episcopalian England was a breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, and on the 20th November 200 of them burnt a copy of the Articles at Dumfries. The Glasgow mob rose too: the Provost was driven to hide in a box bed. There was even a plan for concerted action between Cameronians and Jacobites: they arranged for an armed force to meet at Hamilton, and the Duke of Hamilton was to be its leader. He took fright, however, and countermanded it, for he had great possessions in England. He was chosen also to lead a more peaceable protest. Athol and Saltoun planned to present a national Address to the Queen, expressing the 'almost universal aversion' to the Treaty as it stood, and asking for a new Parliament to take the nation's mind, 'according to our Claim of Right,' which in fact declared it 'high treason to treat of an entire union.' Hamilton was to bring forward the Address, and 500 gentlemen came to Edinburgh (and more were on the way) to wait on Queensberry and beg him to go to the country. The day before the Address was to be presented, Hamilton baulked, declining to go on unless a clause was added expressing a willingness to accept Sophia. It split his supporters, and a number went home.

Meanwhile the Government had been very busy. Argyle, annoyed at being passed over for Queensberry, was given an earldom for his brother as solatium. Seafield was warmly wooing the Squadrone, to keep them from 'encouraging our Torie Pairtie.' It was made clear that the vacancies in the Session and the Courts would not be filled till Parliament had risen, and that Queensberry had the blank commissions for them. And there was word of £15,500 for arrears of pensions. On the 3rd November Seafield could tell Godolphin the Squadrone were 'zealously in conjunction with us.'

Next day the first and fundamental article was brought out. Athol protested that an incorporating union was

> contrare to the honour, interest and fundamental Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom and the Claim of Right [and] . . . would in no sort answer the peaceable and friendly ends proposed by a Union . . . [but would cause] jealousies and mistakes between us and our neighbours.

Lord Belhaven also made a famous speech, on the text that 'patricide is worse than parricide.' It is rhetorical, in the full-periwigged classical manner of the day, and unluckily it was couched in a visionary form, each point beginning with an 'I think I see,' that left his guard open to the ex-Covenanter Marchmont, who got home with the text 'He awoke, and behold it was a dream.'

Eighty-three voted against the article, and ninety-six for: and Seafield could report that the Squadrone 'had given all the assistance we can desire.' On the same day the Act for Securing the Church as by Law Established drew the teeth of that institution, as has been said. On the 15th the Electress was accepted, on the 18th November the Union of Parliaments was passed, by a hundred and thirteen this time to eighty-three.

Still there was nervousness. The Government suspended the arming clauses of the Act of Security, and Godolphin offered to send up English troops. The Opposition fought on, knowing the nation in general was behind them, but knowing also that no sanction short of a war could now be applied, unless some miracle of a political Cana should induce the Whigs to allow the country a voice. The fundamentals secured, the Government made concessions in detail. The salt-tax was lightened, the malt-tax not to be enforced during the war, and a bounty promised to exports of meal and meat, which could not have been considerable.

So it went on through December. At the New Year the Opposition made their final throw. They decided that at the 22nd Article, which restricted Scots membership of the United Parliament, they would offer to accept the principle of the Hanoverian Succession in lieu of an incorporating union, and if that were rejected, to walk out of the House. Seafield said later that if they had done it, they would have forced the Government's hand, and caused the complete abandonment of the Treaty. But they had depended on Hamilton to move it, and Hamilton, for the third time, betrayed their trust. Just when it was too late to replace him by Athol, the Duke stayed away from the Parliament House. He had toothache. His friends forced him out, but he baulked at the last moment. In an earlier volume of this history we have quoted a wise saying of Hill Burton:

> A soldier is not to be depended on unless he knows his coadjutors and knows what they will do and whether they will do it.

The Opposition gave up then in despair.

A week later, on the 16th January 1707, the Act of Union and Security was passed and touched, and the Government decided, to make all safe, that the first batch of members to the Union Parliament should be elected from those already sitting.

The English debate was briefer. It now was clear that if Scotland had secured her marriage lines, there was at any rate to be no nonsense about a Married Women's Property Act. The Act passed without opposition or amendment, through the Commons on the 28th of February, the Lords next day, and on the 6th March the Queen's assent made it the law of England. Thirteen days later it reached the Estates once more. Seafield, as Chancellor, took it from Queensberry, with the remark 'There's an end o' an auld sang.' On the 25th March 1707, four hundred and one years less two days since the coronation of Bruce as King of Scots, the Scottish Parliament met for the last time. Queensberry made a brief speech extolling the Union, and promised grateful remembrance of ‘assistance,’ then adjourned the Estates. They never met again. On the next day the Crown and Sword and Sceptre, shrouded in linen, were coffined in a great chest in the Castle. Queensberry departed to England, and on the 16th April entered London in triumph: at Barnet he was met by an assembly of English Ministers and peers, and made his entry to London in a procession of forty-six coaches and hundreds of mounted admirers. He was given an English title as Duke of Dover (for an English title now was for a Scots peer an almost necessary passport to an active part in parliamentary politics) with a pension also of £3,000 a year: and Hamilton four years later was Duke of Brandon, Argyle Earl of Greenwich and Commander in Spain, where the War Office let him down very badly indeed.

On the 1st May the Treaty came into force. London held a State Thanksgiving in St Paul's, and in Edinburgh the bells of St Giles rang out as appropriate tune from the high ridge,

> Why should I be sad on my wedding day?

Indeed, the bride had some occasion for sadness. A married woman, under English law, has no surname, is merely ‘Mary, wife of John Smith.’ The parallel holds. Scotland had lost the name of her ancestors, and nearly every foreigner to this day, English included, thinks her an English possession won by conquest. Not only that: her possessions are English possessions, most of all those immaterial possessions on which a country's reputation depends. The Scot who makes a great scientific discovery, such as building the first practicable steam-boat or coping with the world-scourge of malaria, the Scot who attains to greatness in an art, or wins a war or makes a great Dominion, is classed thereafter as an Englishman: and even his own country comes to believe it: he may even, indeed, come to believe it himself. This does not happen in merely colloquial usage: in a publication much used in English schools, the liner *Queen Mary*, then very much 'in the news,' was described as a triumph of English shipbuilding, and in the works of the best English scholarship, inferior to that of no country in the world, the habit has become such a constant convention that to question it excites a sincere surprise. This kind of thing is not good for a nation's soul, let alone for her name among her sister nations.

There were other results, part spiritual, part material. The material for a while, at least for the Lowlands, were almost wholly good, and the closer contact with the then very lively English culture gave a real and needed intellectual stimulus. These things did not come at once, but when they did, the Union seemed for a time to belie its accusers. Edinburgh of the late eighteenth century was mentally richer than she had been since Flodden, and the Union was one of the factors that made her so. But that culture could not stand, by the token that it certainly did not stand: and the Union is one of the factors that brought it to wreck.

The centralising of political life in England drew to England those classes directly concerned in it. These found themselves handicapped by their foreign characteristics, and shed them, adopting English modes of speech, thought, and education, and very often marrying English wives. Their adoption of these things, their wives' assurance that these things were the right ones and the native conventions merely solecisms, gave the new forms prestige with the socially ambitious who abound in times of increasing prosperity. An Anglomania set in. It is not to disparage English institutions to say the results were less than fortunate. There were, no doubt, a number of English matters that could be adopted with very real advantage: but to adopt them merely because they were English—as to refuse them merely because they were English, which was a natural corollary—was another and a much less healthy thing.[1] The class that set social standards struck root abroad, and self-consciousness set in as to native standards, or else the foreign came to be taken for granted even when they were a positive disadvantage. There ensued a queer, unwholesome state of mind, hard to describe. For something like three generations, the average educated Scot assumed that English habits of mind were the ‘ normal ’ ones. Certain defined deviations, picturesque or amusing, were allowable, but otherwise Scottishness was an aberration —with, as implied above, the corollary that the more obstinate individuals clung dourly to some things that were evil enough, in the belief that they were clinging to ‘ Scotsness.’

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[1] The situation was complicated by the fact that there is a very real racial difference. South-east Scotland, no doubt, is racially close to the North of England: but the North of England has a quite different culture from that of the South (which is what one thinks of when one thinks of England) and the South-east of Scotland is racially very different from the rest. It is true that there is a good deal of Celtic blood in western England, from Cumberland to Cornwall: but we have less racial likeness to our neighbours than to Northern France, where there is the same Teutonic and Scandinavian infusion in a Celtic basis: and our native culture (where not derived from Ireland) is, historically, more Continental than that of England has been at any time since her French ruling class became anglicised.

These things are less concrete but not less important than some others, whose material results are more immediate, perhaps, to the eye—than the draining of man-power to England or the Dominions, the country’s inability to control her own economic or political life or deal directly with special and complex needs, as for instance the crucial one of her fisheries. That Scotsmen should be heads of the English Church or hold high political offices, purely English, is no sort of adequate equivalent. Scotsmen have probably had far more than their share in the administration of an Empire they have certainly done their share in developing. But Scotland has not had her share there, nor in them. What she has given the Union has bled her white : what she has gained from it has too often been poison, instead of that healthy renewal of national life that should spring from close intercourse with other countries. There is need for readjustment of relations, and need that it should be with generous goodwill. As a common interest in their children’s welfare may bind a couple perhaps at first ill-mated, so the Empire they have made binds Scotland and England, beyond any possibility of divorce : and a healthy relationship between the countries needs those things that make for a successful marriage—a unity true to itself and to wholesome difference, based on frank recognition of each other's rights, on mutual understanding and growing knowledge, and the only safeguard to any human relation, a generous and constant courtesy.

This marriage, truly, was ill enough begun : but it cannot be broken and it may well be saved yet. As matters at present stand, it needs some saving.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE UNITED KINGDOM

SEVEN AND A HALF YEARS : MARCH 1707–AUGUST 1715

Fy, let us a' to the bridal.

Old Song.

THE Union is the major fact of Anne's reign : but that reign had still seven years of its course to run. It may be imagined that they did not run smoothly. The first brush came upon that point of commerce from which the major benefits were expected. The Scots attempted to ' dump ' foreign wines and tobacco, imported before the tariff had been raised. The English merchants were furiously angry, seized their ships, and wished to arrest the crews as smugglers. The new Customs and Excise were administered by English officials, who ' treated the natives with all the contempt imaginable.' The English press-gangs went to work on Scots seamen. When the *Equivalent* arrived in Edinburgh it had to run the gauntlet of flying stones. When the first United Parliament met in October, it proceeded to abolish the Privy Council, appoint Justices of the Peace on the English model, and a Court of Exchequer, also on English lines.

All that summer, feeling was fiery. Anne and her Whigs (her own sympathies in the main were Tory, but not to the point of giving place to her brother) had betrayed Scotland : the Jacobites profited, and the fact took effect upon the Continental situation. Louis XIV had been watching affairs since 1705, when his agent Colonel Hooke had been in Scotland. Now his Italian war had gone very badly, though with a good deal of compensation in Spain, where James VII's natural son and Marlborough's nephew, the Maréchal-duc de Berwick, had defeated the English, Dutch, and Portuguese. Louis sent Hooke to study the situation. Hooke foolishly neglected the Highlands, and concentrated on the Lowland magnates. Hamilton professed enthusiasm, but would not see him : the Duke had very large estates in England, and dreamt of the old *ignis fatuus* of a crown. Athol and the Duke of Gordon were canny : Athol's party sent a memorial demanding not only arms but James's conversion.

Nevertheless, a landing was arranged for in the summer immediately following the Treaty, and on the 1st March James proclaimed from St Germain religious freedom and annulment of the Union. The Jacobites planned to raise 30,000 men, take Newcastle, and hold up the London coal trade. They wanted arms, cannon, and a subsidy, and the Duke of Berwick to lead them. Had these come, they were almost certain of success. There were only 1500 troops in the country, and these ill-equipped. The guns at Dumbarton were useless, and in England were only 5000 regular troops. But nobody would move without French support, and there was a strong case, in fact, for the need of it. A civil war would have been slight, quick, and soon over :

but while the country was still changing saddles she would have had the English over the March, and therefore, until a new government could organise, she wanted trained troops as a cadre for resistance. France saw the necessity, and moved, but slowly. It was arranged that James (who was rising nineteen) should sail from Dunkirk with five or six thousand men, in eight ships of the line and twenty-five frigates. Louis equipped James handsomely, down to a diamond-hilted sword, and the Prince rode to Dunkirk . . . and went down with measles.

The secret of the fleet's destination had been kept, but the delay gave time for it to leak out. There was panic in London, a violent run on the Bank, and wild suspicions of conspiracy. Troops were recalled from Flanders, the fleet sent to sea. By the 28th of February there were forty sail of the line blockading Dunkirk. The weather drove them off, and the French admiral sailed on the 14th March. He got as far as the Firth of Forth, and signalled. No answer came, and Admiral Byng had got his fleet reassembled, and jammed Admiral Forbin in the Firth. James wanted to land at Wemyss and trust the country. Forbin refused to let him, out-manoeuvred Byng, and instead of trying to make a landing elsewhere, sailed back to Dunkirk, and put the Prince ashore.

The best chance the Jacobites ever had was wasted. The Government called for vigorous reprisals, but the country's sympathy had been with the venture. The prisons were full, but no evidence could be had, and most pannels left their trial with a Not Proven. The angry Government therefore insisted on an Act for Improving the Union of the Two Kingdoms, by abrogating the Scottish law of treason and enforcing the English, which meant trial by special commission, not the Court of Justiciary, and sentence to the hideous English penalty invented by Edward I and used against a Jacobite, in London, so late as the year 1753. The Scottish members protested, but could only manage a couple of amendments, neither to take effect in James's life-time: landed estates should only be forfeit for a generation, and the pannel should have a copy of his indictment and the names of Crown witnesses ten days before his trial.

The first election of the United Parliament came in June 1708, and brought considerable friction over the status of the representative peers. The war also continued, and in September of the following year brought the fourth and last of Marlborough's great victories, Malplaquet: it cost the Allies 20,000 men, the French less than half that, but it gave the victors control of the Low Countries. Marlborough's power, however, was on the wane, for the dictatorial possessiveness that was what his Duchess understood as friendship had got on the Queen's nerves, and England was growing weary of the war and inclining to the Tories, the peace party: when in 1709 Dr Sacheverell was impeached for preaching passive obedience he was made a popular hero. The following summer brought the dismissal from power of Godolphin and his ally the Duchess of Marlborough: his place was taken by the Tory Harley, soon afterwards Earl of Oxford, and Bolingbroke, the Foreign Secretary. The general election of 1710 showed a swing to the Tories, and a strong feeling for peace. The end of the year gave France victory in Spain, and secured the Spanish throne to Philip of Anjou. Marlborough tried to force a continuance of the war, and in 1711 fell as a result. The Tories were apparently in power: peace was discussed, though not as yet concluded, and it seemed highly probable for a while that James might be named successor to his sister. Had he chosen to abandon his religion, it would indeed almost certainly have happened.

Meanwhile in Scotland the religious issues had again become dominant. Since the Revolution there had been general peace on this point, save for the Roman Catholics. The Penal Laws against them had been re-enacted in 1689, and a drive made against Popish schoolmasters and mistresses. In 1698 all Catholics who had served abroad for James, or who had been in French service, were banished for life and their families along with them. Nevertheless, they increased: in 1700 their Bishop confirmed 3000 candidates, and some thirty-five priests were at work. The result, in 1701, was a violent persecution. 500 merks reward was offered for the delivery of a priest to the magistrate: if the priest so taken refused to abjure, he was to be banished upon pain of death. Any convert forfeited his whole possessions. No Catholic was to be capable of inheritance, donation, purchase, or annual rent, or of disponing property to a Catholic. The children of Catholics were to be taken from their parents and brought up as Protestants, at their parents' expense. To employ a Catholic servant incurred a fine of 500 merks. The first United Parliament decreed Catholics incapable of acquiring *moveable* property (*i.e.*, of buying anything at all) or of recovering debts due to them. Eventually, in 1711, they appealed to Anne for her personal intervention, and she directed that persecution should cease, so long as they peaceably kept the civil laws.

For the Episcopalians, the years round the turn of the century were fairly quiet. They were too numerous for drastic measures to be feasible, and the moderating influence of Carstares was strong for a while in the Assembly. The Queen's influence helped them: she shared their faith, and looked with kindness on the English non-jurors, with whom they were on friendly terms. The non-jurors in both countries were nearly all of the old Right Wing position, 'Arminian' or Reformed Catholic. The most notable feature of Episcopalian history under Anne is the very strong liturgical revival, which was greatly helped by disestablishment, as those members of the Church who would have opposed it were now Presbyterian. It had begun even before the Revolution: the Scottish Prayer-book had never been reprinted, and was still illegal, but the English one was imported and increasingly though unofficially used, even in Edinburgh. The movement was not confined to the non-jurors: in 1703 the Prayer-book was used at Glasgow by ministers who had taken the oath to Queen Anne. By 1709 the Burial Office was publicly used in the North, and the Liturgy was read in the chapel of King's College, Aberdeen, which was therefore closed by the civil authorities. As the movement increased it brought the revival, still unofficial, however, of various special usages peculiar to the Scottish Prayer-book, which led before long to the re-introduction of the Scottish Liturgy.

The Presbyterians, for some years after the first heats of the Revolution, lived at comparative peace with their Episcopalian neighbours. The liturgical revival disturbed them, however, and in 1707 the General Assembly were demanding uniformity of worship for the kingdom, ordering ministers to preach against the use of the Liturgy in *Episcopal* meeting-houses, and trying to induce the Government to forbid it. Shortly thereafter the matter was brought to a head by what proved a test case. A Scots Episcopalian minister, in Scots orders, James Greenshields, returned from Ireland in 1709, took the oaths, and opened a chapel in Edinburgh, claiming the liberty of the Act of 1695 to conduct public worship though excluded from the Church Courts. He used the Prayer-book, and was therefore summoned before the Presbytery. He declared himself not subject to their jurisdiction. They inhibited him for declining it, for lacking their authority, and for innovations in public worship. He took no heed. They invoked the magistrates, and Greenshields was imprisoned for seven months. The Session refused to hear an appeal to them. He appealed to the Lords. It was now 1710: the Tories were in power, and the House not only sustained his appeal, but gave him damages for wrongous imprisonment.

The situation, however, was ambiguous, and at the end of 1711 Lockhart of Carnwath, one of the Anti-Union stalwarts and Saltoun's friend, demanded a Toleration Act to regularise matters. One was passed, against Whig opposition but with the Queen's strong approval, in March 1712. The General Assembly protested against it with vigour, declaring that to tolerate Episcopacy was 'against the glory of God, the power and purity of our holy religion and of the ordinances of Jesus Christ,' and would bring in danger 'the peace and quiet of the Church and of this whole country.' The clause that it should be 'free and lawful for all subjects . . . to assemble and meet for divine service without any disturbance' and that non-presbyterians should be exempt from ecclesiastical censures by Presbyterian clergy, caused them 'astonishing (sic) surprise and deep affliction' at such a 'manifest and ruining encroachment.' The Act, in fact, worked ill. It gave the Episcopalians freedom to worship in their own forms under their own ministers, and these were permitted to baptise and marry. But it ordained that *all* ministers, of both communions, must take the oath of allegiance and the Abjuration, and pray for the Queen and the Electress. This cut out from its benefits not only the active Jacobites, but the large class which, content to accept Queen Anne while she should live, considered her brother was the lawful heir : and the Presbyterians, already indignant at the fact of toleration, declared that the secular power was making them pray for a sovereign attached to the Church of England. They were so hot they drew upon themselves a genuine grievance. Patrons who had taken the oaths and were Protestants were restored to the rights abolished in 1690, and the Law Courts were ordered to keep ‘ the Yule vacance,’ which so enraged the Assembly that the clause had to be repealed in 1715. The chief effect of the Toleration Act, in fact, was to split *both* churches, emphasising the distinction between the qualified and non-juring Episcopalians, and producing a class of non-juring Presbyterians, chiefly in the old Covenanting shires.

The international friction was not confined to matters of religion. Already in 1711 an export duty on British linen meant a heavy tax on a Scottish major product. Scotland could get no share of public funds, and the English market had been closed to her timber. 1713 aggravated the situation. The Peace of Utrecht in March brought the war virtually to an end. In May, before peace had been made with Spain, it was proposed to tax Scots malt at 6d. a bushel, uniformly with

England. Now it was true that malt had only been exempt 'during this present war' but as the war was not technically over, and Scotland in any case had not been concerned with it, the Scots members thought this showed an indecent eagerness, especially in contrast to the less punctilious observance of the Treaty that had been revealed already.[1] The result was violent feeling on both sides, culminating in a resolution in the Lords, proposed actually by Seafield and seconded by Argyle, two of the leaders of the old Union Party, that the Union should be abolished: and though it was lost, it was only by four votes. The malt duty was postponed to 1724.

The Peace of Utrecht brought a blow to the Jacobites. It had divided the Spanish Empire, the Netherlands going to the Austrian Hapsburgs, with Naples, Sardinia, and Lombardy, while Philip kept Spain and the American dominions, but was prevented from any union with France. The balance was thus preserved, if unsteadily. England won Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Gibraltar, and what was more important than any save the last, Louis acknowledged the heirship of the Electress. The Jacobites thus lost their major ally, and James himself had to leave France for Lorraine.

May 1714 saw a fresh change in the Succession. Sophia died. Her heir was her son George, Elector of Hanover, a less attractive person. He had qualities: he was honest and personally brave, but he was also a heavy and graceless man of fifty-four, and though he had been heir to the British Crown for a decade, he had never troubled to know anything about his possible kingdom, or to learn English. His lack of interest in the arts and sciences was in sharp contrast to the Stewart tradition, his personal morals did not appeal to the strict, nor his taste in mistresses to the more casual: and his luckless wife, Sophia Dorothea, had been imprisoned for years now in a fortress: she never set foot in the kingdom of which she was Queen.

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[1] The Scottish Mint, whose continuance was secured by a specific clause of the Treaty, had already been abolished.

The Tories, headed by Bolingbroke, hoped and planned for James. Anne was not quite fifty, but her health was failing, and she knew it. Her conscience troubled her about her father: she inclined herself to recognise her brother, and Sarah Marlborough's successor, Mrs Masham, a gentle and soothing lady, but astute, was a Tory. In 1712 Hamilton was appointed ambassador to France. Bolingbroke may have hoped that he would induce James to change his religion, in which case he would almost certainly have been accepted. Hamilton, however, never reached France. He was killed, apparently by treachery, in a very dubious duel with Lord Mohun. The Peace came then, but in spite of the checkmate to Jacobite hopes, Bolingbroke worked to strengthen the hands of the Tories. The Duke of Ormonde was Warden of the Cinque Ports, and was to hold them open to French help. Jacobite governors were installed in Edinburgh and other places, and there were many Jacobites in the Army. The main obstacle was Oxford. His removal was the climax of the process of preparation, and was also Bolingbroke's undoing. On the 27th of July 1714, there was a violent scene upon the Council, ending in Anne's dismissal of Oxford from office. Bolingbroke at once set to work to form a new Cabinet, which should include Mar, now a Jacobite, and Ormonde. But on the 30th Somerset and Argyle arrived unbidden in the Privy Council, and induced the Queen, who by then was very ill, to name as Oxford's successor the Whig Shrewsbury. The fleet also was hurriedly put in Whig control, and precautions were taken in the provinces. Before the Jacobites could counter the move, their plans were shattered by the Queen's death. The stress of the week had been too much for her: she had a stroke and died on the 1st August, and the last reign of a Stewart came to an end.

CHAPTER XIX

COUNTER-REVOLUTION

A YEAR AND TEN MONTHS : AUGUST 1714–JUNE 1716

> Difference in religion doth not make void the magistrate's just and legal authority, nor free the people from their due obedience to him.
>
> *The Westminster Confession*, xxiii.

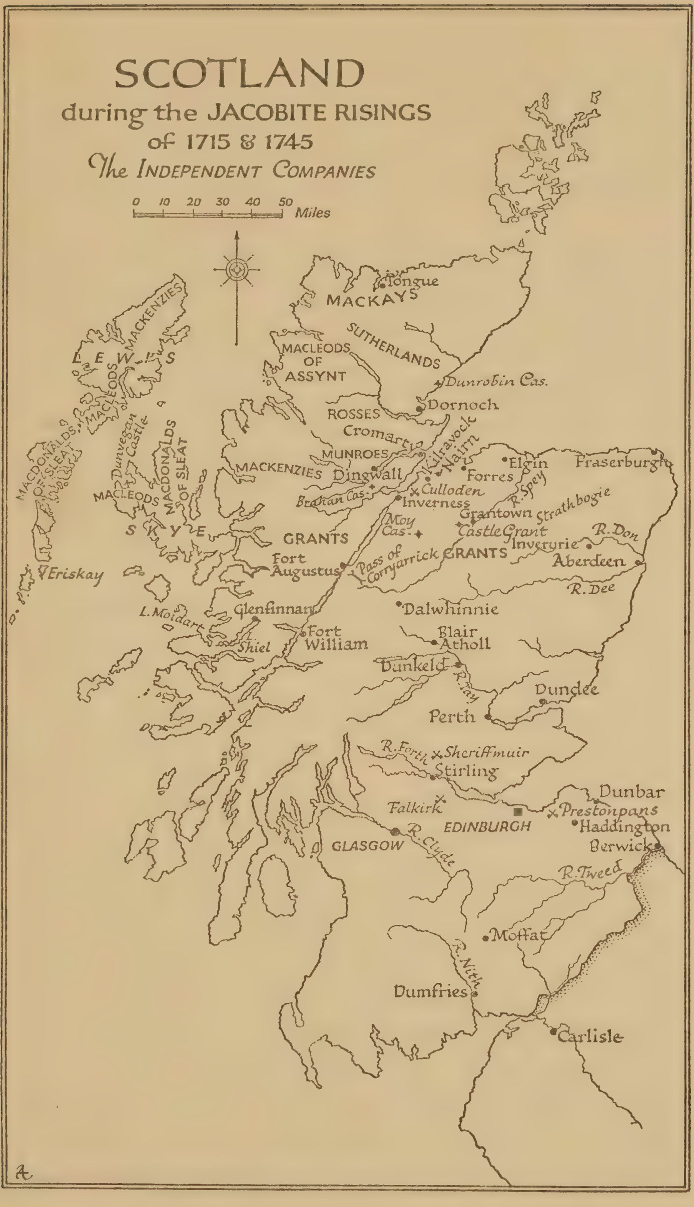
Had James been proclaimed at once, even his English partisans might have rallied : the Scots certainly would. But Bolingbroke missed his stroke. Argyle and Shrewsbury got in with theirs, and George I of Great Britain was peaceably proclaimed, while the changeable London mob burnt 'James III' in effigy. On the 12th September, George landed at Greenwich, and quietly took such possession of his kingdoms as his Government should be disposed to permit to him.

The English Tories surrendered, and tried for his favour. Most of the clergy of the Establishment, most of the lawyers, the universities, and the squires, were of that party. The Whigs, however, had given him the Crown. He looked to them, was pointedly unfriendly to their rivals, and took his place frankly as a party monarch. Ormonde, Bolingbroke, and Mar were alike cold-shouldered. The first two were impeached, and fled to France, where they urged the anti-king to an invasion whose prospect of success depended on a change of faith that he assuredly would never make.

The apparent collapse of the Tory government caused a wave of revulsion in both countries. At the election of March 1715 the Whigs had a huge majority. Even the Highland chiefs surrendered, and with the permission of King James, sent an address expressing their intention of accepting the new dynasty . . . and King George refused it. Abroad too matters looked bleak for the Jacobites. Their main hope, as ever, was in Louis XIV, and the brilliantly able and quite unscrupulous Stair (son of the Stair of Glencoe) who was George's Ambassador to the French court, had won his favour by manners even finer than his own, and was holding him firmly to the Treaty of Utrecht.

There followed a year that has left little mark on the popular imagination, and not much, indeed, on the progress of affairs. Yet the 'Fifteen was a bigger business than the 'Forty-five. It was not an insurrection, but a war—an almost bloodless war, lost, to all practical purposes, finally, won with astounding ease. Had—not Montrose but Claverhouse or Berwick, been in charge, the results would almost certainly have been different. To the question why it was so easily lost and won, the answer is in a single syllable—Mar.

Mar—and misinformation. The intense credulity of the old Left Wing seemed to pass, from the Revolution on, to their opponents. For a quarter of a century the country had been darned with Jacobite hopes and Jacobite intrigues, whose practitioners, when they were not professional plotters, in the game for sheer love of subterranean fuss (and this type, of course, had turned



SCOTLAND
during the JACOBITE RISINGS
of 1715 & 1745
The INDEPENDENT COMPANIES

0 10 20 30 40 50 Miles
MACKAYS
Tongue
SUTHERLANDS
MACLEODS OF ASSYNT
Dunrobin Cas.
Dornoch
ROSSES
Cromarty
MUNROES
Kilravock
Nairn
Elgin
Forres
Fraserburgh
MACKENZIES
Dingwall
Culloden
Brahan Cas.
Inverness
R. Spey
Grantown
Strathbogie
Moy Cas.
Castle Grant
R. Don
Inverurie
Aberdeen
GRANTS
Fort Augustus
Pass of Corryarrick
GRANTS
R. Dee
LEWIS
MACKENZIES
MACLEODS
MACDONALDS OF SLEAT
Dunvegan Castle
MACDONALDS OF SLEAT
MACLEODS
SKYE
Eriskay
L. Moidart
Glenfinnan
Shiel
Fort William
Dalwhinnie
Blair Atholl
Dunkeld
R. Tay
Dundee
Perth
R. Forth
Sheriffmuir
Stirling
Falkirk
EDINBURGH
Dunbar
Prestonpans
Haddington
Berwick
GLASGOW
R. Clyde
R. Tweed
Moffat
R. Nith
Dumfries
Carlisle
A

Tory now the Whigs were firm in power) were 'of that frank and fearless class who are not guilty of seeing far before them.' Scott, who makes that comment, sums the atmosphere of the movement with caustic wisdom :

> Such agents, changing what had been stated as probabilities into certainties, furnished an answer to every question that could be offered by the more prudent . . . If any cautious person objected to stir before the English Jacobites had shown themselves serious, someone . . . was ready to affirm that everything was on the point of a general rising in England, headed by the Duke of Ormonde. Did the listener prefer an invasion of Scotland, the same number of men, with the Duke of Berwick at their head, were as readily promised. Supplies of every kind were measured out, according to the desire of the auditors . . . This kind of mutual delusion was every day increasing.

The ravel of futile intrigues may be left at that : the reader with a taste for such affairs will find an elaborate account in Lang.

The facts that count are that various plans for a Rising were in progress, that nobody had the least general grasp of them, and that hardly one leader had any sense of fact, except the unfortunate James, passive among them, quite without illusions, with a certainty of necessary failure that itself was an impediment to success, yet dutifully willing to follow his followers where they should choose to take him. The one real soldier concerned in the whole affair, with status to lead, was his brother the Duke of Berwick : he was a fine soldier and an honest man, but a Marshal of France and a French citizen, bound in honour to obey the French authorities and consider the interests of his adopted country: and both of these were to join in holding him back.

In face of mutually contradictory despatches, James sent orders to rise on the 31st July, and promised to come. His letter crossed with warnings that demanded delay, and disorganised matters further. Mar, Ormonde and Bolingbroke warned him that nothing could be done without French troops . . . and on the 1st August Louis XIV died, and the Crown of France went to a child, its government to the Duke of Orleans, who had no personal-obligation towards James, and whose interest lay in keeping peace with the British government *de facto*. All Jacobite preparations at the French ports, shipments of arms, money, and volunteers, which had been connived at, were now stopped at once: and it must be remembered that the question of arms was vital, and that neither muskets nor artillery could be procured in Scotland save by a capture which itself needed arms to bring about.

Mar, having advised one thing, now did another—a characteristic trick of 'Bobbing John.' On the 2nd August (not having heard, of course, of Louis's death) he sailed from the Thames as a seaman on board a Newcastle collier, and went north to his chef-lieu of Kildrummie, where on the 26th he held the famous Hunting of Mar, an assembly of over a score of nobles and Highland chiefs, ostensibly for sport, actually to receive their orders. He addressed them in a fervent rhetoric (he was a wordy creature, on paper and off) regretting his share in 'that cursed Union,' and promising a rising in England and help from France and Sweden.

The Government had wind of the business at once, and acted with such vigour as was consistent with an extreme scarcity of troops. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, a price of £10,000 put on James's head, the justiciary were given additional powers, and the Clan Act of the 30th August thrust neatly between superior and vassal, making each benefit by the other's taking arms against the Government. Argyle, a sound soldier and an able man, honest as politicians went at the time, and really caring for Scotland, was put in charge of the regular troops in that country, of whom there were no more than a couple of thousand. The Earl of Sutherland raised the Whig clans of the Far North, Sutherlands and MacKays. The militia were mobilised. Irish reinforcements were called for, and the Dutch troops—six thousand—which Holland had guaranteed in 1713.

On the 6th September the Royal Standard was raised on the Braes of Mar, and as it was raised the gilt ball fell from its pole. James VIII was proclaimed at Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Brechin, Montrose, Dundee, and Inverness. On the 8th September a well-arranged plot to take Edinburgh Castle was put in action and defeated by a quarter-hour's delay and the conjugal indiscretion of one man. By the end of the month, however, Mar had his base at Perth, and controlled the coast from the Moray Firth to the Forth, while the clans from the Middle Highlands were coming in, including a contingent of Campbells under Breadalbane: by November he had well over 6000 men. But meanwhile the Whigs of the South-west were arming, and the Glasgow merchants subscribing generously to the Government.

The temper on both sides was in striking contrast to that of 1638 or even 1745. Outside the South-west, the Presbyterian ministers were unable to stir up any positive feeling: the Episcopalians generally preferred a Catholic prince of a Scots house to a Lutheran of a German, but even so they were not enthusiastic. No one wanted recurrence of religious war, and the violent emotions over the Union had had eight years in which to be dissipated. The cardinal factor, perhaps, was the lack of a leader who could rouse personal enthusiasm. James and George were alike absentees. James had all the virtues, save those that can attract the popular mind: and he was a Catholic. George was a Protestant, but otherwise even less exciting than James. Argyle was respected, with reason, but roused no fervour. Mar could rouse neither fervour nor respect, and did stir an increasing exasperation, strongest among the men who were efficient. In short, no war in Scottish history, which has a choice collection of all kinds, has shown an *ingenium* so little fervid.

Mar had reached Perth by the 18th September. Argyle was at Stirling, with an inferior force. Had Mar known his job, he would have walked over him and taken Edinburgh before the Whigs could organise. But though he had already more men than Montrose had at most times commanded, he sat and waited for the northern clans: and Seaforth's MacKenzies were being held up by the Whigs on their northern flank. At last, but not till precious time had been wasted, Mar began an enveloping movement to hold Argyle, sending a Highland force against Inveraray and another under the veteran Brigadier Macintosh, 'Old Borlum,' to cross the Forth and get in touch with the Border lords. It missed: the attack on Inveraray was not pushed home, and though Borlum crossed the Forth in spite of the English fleet, he was diverted to make an attempt on Edinburgh, frustrated by a thrust from Argyle and the rapid action of a Highland Lord Provost. It was not until the 22nd October that Borlum reached Kelso, and joined the local Jacobites and a contingent of Northumbrian English led by their Member of Parliament, Thomas Forster, a man of very much the stamp of Mar, and next to Mar responsible for failure.

For the next few weeks, two separate campaigns were in progress, both reaching their climax just before mid-November. To trace the southern first: the English contingent brought new complications. They were brave enough, but a useless fighting force, being for the most part country squires on hunters, and armed with small-swords, a weapon of finished deadliness in the duel, and in a mêlée of rather less use, on the whole, than a knitting-needle with a cork on the end. But they were full of their own consequence as lords of manors, who must know more of war or anything else than a Highlander and therefore a savage, like Borlum, who in fact was a brave and experienced professional soldier. Borlum wanted to join hands with the clans for a concerted circling attack on Argyle, that would clear their rear for a march into England. The English insisted on turning south at once, to attack General Carpenter, who lay with a small force at Wooler, close to Flodden. Borlum opposing, their national genius for compromise made them act on neither their plan nor his own: they moved over to Kendal. Forster, having asserted himself and assumed the leadership over Borlum's head, now showed a tendency in moments of crisis to go to bed and think. The Lancashire Catholics turned out, however, and hoping for recruits from Manchester, he marched, like Hamilton in 1648, on Preston.

It was as far as he got. On the 12th November, a Government force advanced upon the Jacobites from Wigan. The Jacobites (with Borlum now in command) raised barricades in the centre of the town: three of the four were commanded by Highlanders, the fourth by an English Borderer, not a squire, but of the old moss-trooping breed. Under these, they held gallantly through a hard day's fighting: but next day General Carpenter arrived from Wooler with reinforcements for the attackers. The Highlanders were for a final sally, to cut their way through or perish sword in hand. The English, however, insisted on surrender, and tried to make terms for themselves. The Whig commander would give them no conditions. The moment for a possible sally was wasted: the Scots now negotiated also, and the force, about 1500, capitulated on no better terms than the assurance of not being shot at once.

This was the 14th November: it ended any sort of rising in England. On the day before, Mar had fought his only battle, and the Scots rising also was, for all practical purposes, at an end. For some six weeks he had remained at Perth, in a haze of rumour and rhetoric: it was given out that the English Jacobites had taken Newcastle. All he achieved in that time in the way of activity was a feint attack upon Argyle at Stirling, in order to distract him from Borlum's move south. Mar got as far as Dunblane, and thus drew back Argyle from Edinburgh. The attack was not pushed home, however, and a by-move on Dunfermline, by a small detachment under Gordon of Glenbuchat, failed on the 24th October.

Seaforth had been joined by MacDonald of Skye and a contingent of Chisholms and MacKinnons, which brought his force to 4000: Sutherland withdrew the pressure on his northern flank, and he garrisoned Inverness and marched the rest of his men to join Mar at Perth. This brought Mar's force to about 8000, nearly twice that of Argyle. Time was becoming important, even to Mar, for the Dutch were now on their way. On the 9th November he made a move at last, and on the very night, the Frasers left him, called off by Lovat, while 200 of Huntly's Gordons, who suffered from a sense of grievance, left also.

Argyle moved out of Stirling to Sheriffmuir, high ground near Dunblane, where he could hold the Forth and make use of his cavalry. On the 13th November, the day of the stand at Preston, the only real battle of the war was fought there. The clans were eager to get to grips at last: their spirit was that of Sir John MacLean's address:

> Gentlemen, this is a day we have long desired. There stands MacCailein Mòr for King George. Here stands MacLean for King James. God bless MacLean and King James. Gentlemen, charge!

But though the stuff Montrose had led was there, Montrose was not, and the Argyle who was was not Sour-faced Archibald but Red John of the Battles: and the hard frost helped him, by making the bogs passable for his horse. It was an odd mixed business, even then. The left of each army broke,

> And some say that we wan,
> And some say that they wan,
> And some say that nane wan ava, man.

But as Scott remarks, and the history of Scotland proves, 'the events of war are of less consequence than the use made of them.' Night fell on confusion and heavy casualties: but the heavier were on the Jacobite side, and the competent commander on the Whig. Mar's tame printing-press, claiming a victory, counted less than the fact that his march had been checked and his army was confined above the Forth, and scant alike of both food and ammunition.

The English rising was done, and the Dutch arrived. They and the troops who had been posted in England were at once sent north. On the other side of Mar, Lovat had got together the called-off Frasers, with the Monroes, Rosses, and Grants—all Whigs—and driven MacKenzie of Coul with his small garrison from Inverness, while the Far North clans came down and joined with him. Mar was between two fires. The new Whig forces moved undisturbed into place. Mar's did nothing save melt, as his followers grew hopeless. And after five weeks of this arrived the King who was figurehead of a cause already lost. James landed at Peterhead, three days before Christmas.

It is harder to rally a dejected force than to lead a fresh one. James was no man to do it. He would have died on the scaffold, or in battle, with a gentle fortitude and dignity, but he was a useless fighter or politician : and he went down at once with a bout of malaria. Ill and certain of failure, he did what he thought his duty, put himself at the head of the fiasco, issued a proclamation declaring for separate Parliaments and the security of the Establishment, and rode on to Perth, which he reached on the 9th of January : it had been proposed he should be crowned at Scone, and ladies gave their jewels to make his crown.

The coming of the Blackbird roused the dull fire, but soon it cooled again. They were ' not at all animated by his presence.' Jamie the Rover of the Jacobite songs was already becoming Old Mr Melancholy. And Argyle by now had more guns and the Dutch troops—9000 men. He advanced from Stirling to Auchterarder, through bitter weather. At Perth was a confusion of counter-opinions. The Highlanders demanded an advance, even at the odds, declaring they 'would die like men and not like dogs.' The more cautious wanted to fall back to the Highlands, and Mar himself was for surrender outright. A futile attempt was made to check Argyle by burning the villages between Perth and Stirling, which merely destroyed any local liking for James, and on the 29th January Mar was informing Huntly the French were coming. But on the 31st January the Jacobites fell back from Perth, crossing the Tay on the ice. A few days later, James, having spent a sad six weeks in his kingdom, sailed from Montrose, to await, as he said in *A Letter of Adieu to the Scotch*, 'a more happy conjunction for our mutual delivery.' Mar went with him. The army moved vaguely to Aberdeen, thence into Badenoch. The weather was deathly, and they had neither food nor ammunition. James empowered them to disperse, and as soon as he landed, sent ships to bring away the fugitives. From Ruthven in Badenoch, the last rendezvous of the Cause thirty years later, they asked for terms, and receiving no answer, disbanded. The Whig troops scoured the country for their fragments. The Dutch left 'not a chair nor a stool, a barrel nor a bottle, enfin, nothing earthly undestroyed' wherever they went, and the Englishmen were not very much better.

The formal reprisals were less severe than might have been expected. The rewards were also a little unforeseen, for Argyle was dismissed from all his offices. The Preston prisoners had been marched pinioned into London, escorted by a carefully organised mob who sang and howled to an obbligato of beaten warming-pans, and were lodged in the London jails, where their sympathisers made them fairly comfortable. Seven hundred of them were transported. Forster got out of prison with false keys : the Earl of Derwentwater, the English leader, went to the block on the 22nd February. The other leaders of the English rising were either released after imprisonment, or escaped. Of the Lowlanders, Kenmure died with Derwentwater. The Earl of Nithsdale should have suffered with him, but escaped from the Tower by the help of his plucky wife. About twenty others were put to death at Preston or Manchester, and a few at Tyburn.

The proceedings concerning those captured of Mar's force began with a flagrant violation of the Treaty of Union. They were entitled, by the definite law of both countries, to trial in Scotland. They were tried at Carlisle. But between the decision to try them there and the trial, the Government made a change in policy. Less than a hundred were actually sent there, and none was executed : the leaders, in fact, were out of reach in exile, and a good deal of lenience was shown to subordinates, amnesties being liberally granted on surrender of arms. Only the leaders were attainted, and their forfeited estates were sold by the Government to the York Building Company, which promptly went bankrupt. The tenants either refused to pay rent to the new proprietors, or, as in the MacKenzie country, when dragooned into paying up by English troops, raised a second rent to remit to their chief in exile.

CHAPTER XX

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ARRIVES

TWENTY-NINE YEARS: 1716–1745

> Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni,
>   trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,
> ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni,
>   nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
> Iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus, imminente Luna;
>   iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
> alterno terram quatiunt pede; dum graves Cyclopum
>   Volcanus ardens urit officinas.
>
> Horace, *Odes*, I, iv.

THE period covered by this section, and in great part by this chapter, may be summed up in the history of one woman. In 1696 Christian Shaw of Bargarran was the instigator of a famous witch-case, and in 1727 the same lady was founding the great thread-industry of Paisley. Most of what is conspicuous in the thirty years between the two major risings looks forward rather than backward, and belongs rather to the history of the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The forces the sixteenth and seventeenth had loosed were, though quieting, not dead, however, nor are they yet, for we still have to cope with their results.

The period therefore may be briefly dealt with. The framework of events was still, till the middle of the century, the politico-religious settlement that in spite of two further attempts at armed counter-revolution, left the House of Hanover and the Presbyterian Church securely in power, and completed the fall of the native dynasty. It will therefore be convenient to take the political struggle to the next attempt, and then proceed to religious and social history, returning in the next, concluding, chapter to deal with the general course of politics from the Glenshiel Affair to the 'Forty-five.

The 'Fifteen had ended in a damp fiasco. Defeat in arms has never been held a final thing in Scotland, but the psychological aspect of the business had chilled all those who were concerned in it, and it was not for another generation, and under a more exhilarating leader, that Jacobitism could strike a serious blow. Yet it continued as an active menace to the Government, by reason of its foreign implications. The Hanoverian Whigs had by now come to think of Scotland as something appended to the back of England: the Jacobites still saw her as part of Europe, and had 'played the market' of Europe, if not with success. Their fires were banked now: but a turn of affairs made some European powers desire their help.

Spain, under Philip V, or rather under Cardinal Alberoni, was aiming to upset the Treaty of Utrecht, and recover her old domains in Italy. She hoped to form alliances in the North, with Charles XII of Sweden, still a major power, and with Peter the Great, who was making one of Russia. To this northern league a friendly Great Britain would be an important asset: and a Whig Great Britain would certainly not be friendly. In fact, Alberoni's intentions were countered in January 1717 by a Triple Alliance of Great

Britain, France, and Holland, who declared for the maintenance of the *status quo.* James, turned out of Lorraine, had gone to the Pope's city of Avignon : now he had to leave, and accepted the hospitality of Rome, which did him little good with his subjects *de iure.*

Charles XII, besides his intromissions with Spain, had a grievance against Hanover, over the duchies of Bremen and Verden. As accessory to a scheme for their recovery, he set going an English Jacobite plot in that year. There was some back-stairs work, and some money came in : but the plot was betrayed, the Swedish ambassador was arrested, and the sole practical effect was a slight delay in the General Amnesty to those who had been concerned in the 'Fifteen.

By the middle of 1718 the glass was falling. In July Spain landed a force in Sicily, which took Palermo and Messina. This brought the Emperor into the Triple Alliance, and in the same month, on the 11th August, Byng shattered the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro . . . though it was not until the end of December that Great Britain made a declaration of war, France following suit in early January. Matters looked black for Spain, and Alberoni turned to the Jacobites. The death of Charles of Sweden in December had both weakened them and upset Alberoni's plans, but preparations were made for serious invasion. Ormonde should fall on the English coast with a fleet, and the young Earl Marischal, an exile of the 'Fifteen, was to land in the Highlands with a Spanish force. Both were to sail early in March 1719. The fleet left Cadiz on the 7th, the Marischal Pasajes on the 8th, with a couple of frigates and a few Spanish troops. His brother, the future Marshal Keith, with Seaforth, Tullibardine, and Campbell of Glendaruel, sailed also from France, and rendezvoused with the Marischal at Seaforth's town of Stornoway in the Lews.

James in February set out on the way to Spain, and after a dangerous and unpleasant journey, delayed by more malaria, reached Madrid in time to hear that on the 29th March Ormonde's fleet had been shattered by an Atlantic gale. The guns had been jettisoned and the ships forced back into port for much refitting.

The other party got safe to Stornoway, by the 4th April, knowing nothing, of course, of what had come to Ormonde. There were the common, heart-breaking, dissensions. Tullibardine wished to wait for news from Ormonde, and produced a commission (two years old) as Commander—a position which this time had been promised Seaforth. The Keiths, however, induced him to see that a Whig fleet could hold them on the island, and they crossed to Eilean Donnain, Seaforth's chef-lieu, in Kintail at the mouth of Loch Duich. Thence Glendaruel went to rouse the clans. Ormonde's disaster was known to these by now, and Whig ships were in the Minch : the chiefs were reluctant to move, but some Camerons, MacGregors, and MacKinnons joined Seaforth's MacKenzies, giving a force of about 1100. By the 10th May the Whig ships had seized Eilean Donnain, their munitions, and a garrison of Spaniards ; and General Wightman, with a force mainly of regulars and some Monroes, was marching from Inverness. They moved to meet him, and did so in Glenshiel on the 9th June. There was a feeble, ill-concerted action. Wightman had horse and guns, the Jacobites none. Seaforth was badly wounded, and the Keiths were Lowlanders, very young at that: Marshal Keith was later not wont to lose his battles.[1] The upshot was the dispersal of the Highlanders and the surrender of the unfortunate Spaniards.

No more help came from Spain and there could be none from Sweden. France was thirled to King George. For a quarter of a century thereafter there was to be no further armed attempt to upset the existing government. James returned to Rome, and in September married, very little to his happiness or hers, Maria Clementina Sobieski, of the recently dethroned royal house of Poland—in fact, the granddaughter of that John Sobieski who had saved Central Europe in 1683, by driving back the Turks from before Vienna. On the last day of 1720, a son was born to them and baptised Charles Edward.

The half-century following the Revolution shows thus the confirming of Whig political power and of its major achievement, the Union of Parliaments, the basis of Scots politics (so to call them) down to this present.

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[1] He became, with distinction in all, a colonel in the Spanish army, Governor of the Ukraine for Catherine the Great, and then Frederick the Great's most trusted marshal—a typical *carrière d'Écossais* in that century as in its predecessor.

With this went a parallel consolidation of Whig religion, which takes rank beside the political conditions as a determinant of our present Scotland.

During the half-century after the Revolution, the Presbyterian Church underwent some changes. The most marked of these was a tendency to divide, though as yet unofficially, into different parties, whose opposition was sometimes decidedly heated, though until 1737 they remained a single communion, from which only the Cameronians excluded themselves.[1] On one side was the party of the Moderates, which all through the century increased in strength.[2] Their note was a growing intellectualism, reinforced by the revival of philosophy in the universities after Hutcheson's appointment in 1726. Their influence slackened the grip of Calvinism, and the infusion of philosophy considerably humanised their creed: if it tended, in Lord Tweedsmuir's phrase, to make religion 'a thing of social decency and private virtues' with an amiably vague theology, the greater attention to positive ethics was needed, and had some most valuable social results. This group attracted to it the scholars and the men of humaner temper: at its best, given *anima naturaliter*

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[1] These in 1743 took the name of Reformed Presbyterians. They remained without intromissions with any other body till 1876, when a majority of them joined the Free Church.

[2] The growth in the party is sometimes put down to the influence of the Episcopalians who had conformed. This may be true of the laity, but the ministers who had done so were not sufficiently numerous, nor perhaps weighty, to make much impression. The Moderates, in fact, really succeed the old Left Centre groups, like the Resolutioners, and earlier unnamed but perceptible divisions.

christiana, it produced men of fine and most attractive character, and gave scope to the social and intellectual revival of the second part of the century. Its weakness lay in the fact that such men turned aside from the theology of Westminster without replacing it by anything more definite than a sort of vaguely noble aspiration, whose contact with the harsher facts of life led too easily to some form of agnosticism, enhanced by the mistrustfulness of emotion characteristic of an age where bishops could be praised on their tombstones for ' crushing enthusiasm.' The attitude is explicable in men who could recall the seventeenth century : but though religion needs firm control of emotion, religion without emotion lacks driving force, so that while the Moderatism of the late century was free of all fanatical excess and showed both liberty and a fine liberality, it lost its hold on the sense of the numinous, and in spite of its warm interest in ethics it ceased to feed the deeper strengths of the soul, or give sanctions for the efforts of the will. Between this cause and the causes that produced it, the quick intellectual vigour of the late century proved rather administrative or scientific than creative : it did great things in these aspects of life, but less in the creative arts . . . and one notes that Scott, the greatest creative artist of the time, became a convert to Episcopalianism.

Opposed to the Moderates, hotly denouncing them as mere legalists, who ' savoured of Socrates and Seneca,' were the High-flyers or Evangelicals. These were the direct descendants of the Covenanting Kirk, the ancestors of the present Dissenting Presbyterian bodies. Moderatism took the town gentry and the professional classes, but in the landward Presbyterian areas there was still the pure milk of the Westminster Confession. In the 'teens of the century the Presbytery of Auchterarder made all its ordinands sign a declaration that

> I believe it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ and instating us in Covenant with God.

But by this time such doctrine excited controversy. An English treatise of 1646, *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, was reprinted in its defence: it maintains that

> the Lord is not angry with a believer for his sins, and the believer hath no cause either to confess his sins nor to crave pardon at the hand of God for them

—a doctrine which had much practical appeal for those who wished to make the best of both worlds. The Marrow Controversy shook the Kirk: the Assembly appointed a Committee of Purity of Doctrine, which began by condemning *The Marrow*, but the condemnation became 'more and more stumbling to many ministers,' and the censure had to be modified. In the Left Wing of the Establishment, in fact, the main difference from the seventeenth century was that the Covenants slipped into the background. A veneration for them as a pious ancestral work revived, however: a vague but fervent tradition was used as weapon against both Moderates and Episcopalians, much enhanced after 1721 by Wodrow's *History of the Suffer-*

ings of the Church of Scotland, a piece of brilliant party journalism, which began as a pamphlet to spread among the country people, but 'swelled in his head' to a formidable work, grandly inaccurate and most convincing. Wodrow has never yet had his due place among the founders of the modern novel, where in fairness he should rank well above Defoe. His stories of the suffering Covenanters show a gift as high as Defoe's for invention of vivid and convincing detail, and a much higher one for exciting emotion, with a quite remarkable turn for narrative. Readers who took his work for a statement of fact, which of course is what it throughout professes to be,[1] had all the entertainment of lively fiction, plus a good excuse for hating their opponents and a feeling of being edified as well. One is not surprised that it was a best-seller, and the Government recognised its political value, for Wodrow received a handsome subsidy. Patrick Walker followed in 1724 with a series of Lives of leading Covenanters, including some fascinating miracles: and the Protesters and Cameronians whom their fellow-Presbyterians had regarded in the 'eighties with dislike became canonised saints of the Establishment.

At the core of general religious practice, however, the Covenant's place was now taken by the Sabbath, which by now had rather enhanced the grimmest features of Covenanting Sabbatarianism. While in church the minister preached on his ‘ ordinary ’—a text which might last him for a couple of years—[1] the elders went round *perlustrating* the parish, in order to catch those *vaguing* in service-time. At Kelso in 1708 two men and a woman who compeared for ‘ walking to and fro on the Sabbath ’ explained that they had been succouring a sick child : they did in fact get off without a fine, but were ‘ exhorted to be better observers of the Sabbath.’ As a rule, even in Edinburgh, to look out of the window on Sunday meant a fine. In 1735 the minister of Newmachar was haled before his brethren of the Presbytery for having powdered his wig on a Sunday morning, and it was a crying iniquity to shave, though apparently one was allowed to wash one’s face. Nor was the civil arm lacking to support, for the Town Councils, drawn normally from the respectable burgesses who (and whose wives) were the backbone of the system, reinforced the authority of the kirk sessions : the same men, of course, would often serve on both. Symson writes about 1730,

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[1] He is gravely quoted still as an authority, even in books that pretend to scholarship. It should be added, of course, that in one point he is really authoritative: he transcribes, apparently with accuracy, many official documents, and such matters as Renwick's Declaration.

> When any Person refuses to submit to the Censure and Discipline of the Church, the respective Judicatures still apply to the Civil Magistrate to use his coercive power, which is seldom if ever refused.

Indeed, in places, the Town Council themselves appointed *compurgators* or *seizers* to act as official spies, and neighbours spied unofficially on each other, while the elders, supported by the magistrates, had a right of entry to any suspected house.

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[1] They were still surprisingly economical in the public use of Scripture, whose reading in church was resisted by the godly : this may have been because it played a conspicuous part in Episcopalian services, but it was also accused of leading to shorter sermons.

It is half comic to read of: it was very far from comic to live under. Condemnation by the kirk session meant, for the respectable, social and commercial ruin. And now that emotion could not be worked off by the excitement of war or conventicling, the effect of this constant cast of iron negation on the hot-blooded was evil in the extreme. Repression might work off in 'righteous' cruelty, especially to children, or flame up in revolt, either deliberate, which meant an anti-social habit of mind, or involuntary, which meant either self-horror or a dangerous dissociation of personality. One is not surprised that sexual morals were lax, and infanticide a formidable problem. Even in the nineteenth century, when this grim ritual, having slackened for a little, was revived, the general illegitimacy rate for Scotland was to the general English as three to two: in the 'eighties of last century it was 10% in the great towns, and in the Covenanting shires of Kirkcudbright and Wigtown 17% and 15% respectively.

The *Marrow* controversy, mentioned above, sharpened division between the opposite parties. So did the Patronage system, which the Moderates supported: strife over that succeeded the *Marrow* troubles, and culminated in 1733 in the secession of the Associate Presbytery, four ministers who declared themselves to represent the real Church of Scotland. They were formally deposed in 1740: the subsequent secessions and reunions are too complex to forecast here, but this body grew and became the ancestor of the Old and New Light Burghers, Old and New Light Anti-burghers, Original Seceders, United Original Seceders, who still exist, and United Seceders, whose junction in 1847 with the Relief Synod formed the United Presbyterians, subsequently attached to most of the Free Church to become the United Free, most of whose members have now joined the Establishment.

The abortive risings had a considerable effect on the Episcopalians, who still numbered the great majority of the Dissenters: at Brechin, for instance, in 1711, over 1200 made their Easter Communion. Through Anne's reign they had lived in comparative quiet, and north of Tay Presbyterianism came very slowly. In 1710 there were still 165 parish kirks with Episcopalian incumbents, and attempts to replace them were so hotly resisted that at Dingwall and Kirriemuir, to give examples, it was 1716 before it could be done. Expulsion was very difficult in the Highlands, as so few Presbyterians could preach in Gaelic, which perhaps explains the violent hostility to Gaelic language and culture that their body has always shown. When the minister was outed, his flock held conventicles: but it speaks to the passing of the seventeenth century that in one or two places at least the two communions contrived to exist in comparative Christian peace. At Haddington, indeed, up to 1724, their mutual relations were so friendly that they jointly occupied the parish kirk, the Episcopalian taking the morning diet of worship and his opposite number that in the afternoon.

By Anne's later years the country seemed in a fair way to divide quite naturally at the Tay, into an Episcopalian North and Presbyterian South. The 'Fifteen, however, stirred up more active feeling. Many Episcopalians who had accepted William as a make-shift and at least a demi-Stewart, and were well enough satisfied with the Stewart Anne, revolted at George I. Save for the small Catholic contingent, the Jacobite army of 1715 were Episcopalians almost to a man, and their Church Parades used the Book of Common Prayer.

The inevitable result was a more rigid enforcement of the terms of the 1712 Toleration Act, requiring Episcopalian ministers to register their letters of orders, and to pray by name for the *de facto* sovereign. In May 1716 King George tried to close Episcopal meeting-houses: the Lords of Justiciary protested that it was illegal to do so summarily. The clergy of Edinburgh, however, were indicted, and twenty-one fined. Having paid their fines and registered their letters they continued, however, to officiate, nor would the magistrates proceed against them. In the north, where Jacobitism was more active, they were, though still in the position of a *de facto* establishment, more harshly used, for there they were dealt with by the Presbyteries, who saw their chance at last to win control. Most of the meeting-houses were closed, and the ministers who refused to resign their charges were cited before the presbyteries, some for Jacobitism, but others for using the Prayer-book. Some disregarded the citations: others lodged a declinator of jurisdiction. Thirty-six were suspended or deprived, but most of them went on officiating, and even the military proved unable to install their Presbyterian successors. The Universities of Aberdeen were also purged, and the last Episcopalians removed—their fourth purging in eighty-five years.

The civil authorities, however, had learnt from the last century. They were often genuinely averse from persecution. Also, little as most Episcopalians liked the Union, it was of real service to them now, for the English Establishment, much of which sympathised with their politics, felt bound to prevent persecution of a religion which had so much in common with its own. The Presbyterian authorities were displeased at this weakness of the secular arm, and in 1717 sent a deputation to King George to get the Toleration Act repealed. They were refused, but in 1719 the Glenshiel Affair played into their hands, and it was then enacted that no non-juring Episcopalian might officiate to a congregation of more than nine, under penalty of six months' imprisonment. Some congregations thereon appointed 'qualified' ministers: these were in the South, and some of them largely composed of immigrant English, merchants or soldiers or government officials, a fact which made for divisions, for though these new men at first acknowledged the bishops, the latter were non-jurors to a man, and the qualified charges came in time to be held by Englishmen or Scots of Whig politics, in English orders, who considerably anglicised the Church in the South.

The enactment, of course, was roughly equitable, and was so regarded, but it weakened the Church both directly and by the division it created, and she lost a leader next year in Bishop Rose, who since the death of the Archbishops had acted as an unofficial Primus. His death left the Church with six bishops, of whom two were in exile, and none attached to a diocese: nor, though all were men of respectable character, was any a big enough man to fill Rose's place. They proceeded to a constitutional revolution, or a partial return to early mediaeval practice, assuming the name of the Episcopal College, and electing their senior bishop as life preses, by the title of Primus: and (though diocesan jurisdiction has been restored) the arrangement has endured to the present day as a characteristic feature of the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

Division on the ground of politics was paralleled by division in theology, with a corresponding difference in externals, though none of the three lines of cleavage, perhaps, coincided. One side, faithful to the Reformed Catholicism of the Arminians, desired a return to the liturgical uses of the 1637 Prayer-book—the Mixed Chalice, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost upon the Elements (a peculiar characteristic, among Western liturgies, of the Scottish Office and those derived from it, like the American), their formal Oblation, and the Commemoration of the Faithful Departed: others, whose doctrine had some flavour of Calvinism, resisted these ‘ Usages ’ as they were called, and the trouble was nearly as acute as the Marrow Controversy. A somewhat similar division of thought had occurred among the Church of England non-jurors, who in 1718 had asked the Scottish prelates to arbitrate. Rose and Falconar, who was to be his successor, suggested the practice of mutual toleration : but after Rose’s death their own church was disturbed. In 1731 the two parties reached a concordat, and the Usages are now a lawful part of the Scottish Liturgy, retained in its last (1929) revision.

The general beliefs of the Church were more clearly defined by the Code of Canons of 1727 : and the Liturgy also was developing towards its modern form. The Restoration Establishment had deliberately avoided the *official* revival of the Prayer-book. It was used in places, and in 1680 it was formally made permissive. The Scottish Prayer-book, however, was hard to come by, and the English one, at that time, was more commonly used. The limiting of the Church to genuine and convinced Episcopalians greatly strengthened the liturgical revival. The use of the Prayer-book quickly became universal. At first it was still the English Book, but in the actual Liturgy itself return was soon very generally made to the more ‘ primitive ’ arrangement of its parts that is found in the Scottish Book of 1637. In 1724 Bishop Gadderar, who led the Usagers, published a ‘ wee bookie ’ of the English Liturgy with these modifications inserted in pen and ink. The Aberdeen edition of 1735 incorporated them in the text. The

Scottish form was restored in the edition of 1764, which (but for some slight changes in 1929) is the Scottish Liturgy of the present day, and the parent form of the American. Certain of the qualified congregations, who were mostly non-Usagers and largely English, continued to use the English Liturgy, but by 1743 Bishop Keith remarks that there were not five ministers who did so out of Edinburgh, and even in Edinburgh not above three who used it as it stood: and a Perth minister writes in the same year,

> The majority who use the Scottish Liturgy is so great that they are now but very few who do otherwise, and those few in the southern parts, mostly overawed by some ignorant laity . . . and I am persuaded that most of the clergy of my acquaintance . . . and I myself would much sooner resign our several charges than give up the Scotch to use the English Communion Office; yea, the greatest number even of our laity would desert us should we attempt it.

Of the other non-Presbyterian Dissenters, the most numerous were the Catholics. Many of them had followed James VII to exile: in the sixteen-nineties there had been 'five thousand Catholics from the three kingdoms at Paris and St Germain, besides many others in different parts of France,' and Queen Mary Beatrice sold her jewels to feed them, for many were destitute. The 'Fifteen increased their number, and James VIII did his best to help them, but had small power. For those at home, persecution had increased, at any rate where the Government could reach them, which in Barra or Morar was not always easy. The Penal Laws have already been described: yet after the Union there were still twenty priests working actively, and a number of converts. The result, in 1710, was more persecution: but in 1721, Wodrow, writing from the General Assembly, declares that ‘ some parishes where not so long ago there were scarcely any Papists have now seven or eight hundred. One meeting-house alone has fifteen hundred hearers every Lord’s day.’ This is probably an exaggeration, but the number was certainly growing. There were also a few other forms of Dissent, relics of Cromwell’s time, as the Independents, now Congregationalists, and the Quakers, whose sect had abandoned its early extravagances, and was settling to its characteristic combination of a sober mysticism with practical works. Others were connected with more recent English developments, for the Methodist movement made many converts in Scotland.

A survey of general religious conditions seems the best place for a word on an institution which had played a great part in the seventeenth century mind. The old organised witch-cult of the Kirk of Satan had died out, apparently, in that century : but the popular fear had passed a good deal more slowly. The Episcopalian régime shows less of it, but there was a revival after 1690. The famous, and hideous, Bargarran case, with five executions, comes in 1697. There was a bad bout of mass-terror in Fife in 1704, when the luckless pannels were ‘ waked ’ for five days and nights, in addition to suffering the usual stripping and pricking ; and a case at Pittenween in 1705, where the details are too horrible to quote. As the influence of the Moderates grew stronger and the Age of Reason dawned as a general fashion, violent measures went out. The last execution was at Dornoch in 1722, and in 1736 the Statute of 1563 against *sorsarie* was repealed, though not without protest from the straiter brethren at such a contravention of the Scriptures.

In the thirty years between the two chief risings the general social conditions steadily bettered : and there was need for it. A couple of centuries of religious conflict, overlapping the terrible onslaughts of Henry VIII, had done as much physical damage, and more moral, than even the worst attacks of Plantagenet England. And when after the Revolution the wars seemed ended, the climate continued what they had begun : the terrible famine years between 1696 and 1703 have been described, and others also followed in 1709 and again in the long frost of 1740. Yet from the very beginning of the century, agriculture shows a steady revival, and the break-up of the vicious old run-rig system. The movement was hampered by the ministers : in 1710, for instance, the new winnowing fans were denounced as ' the devil's wind.' But new methods and new plants were brought in from England and the Continent : turnips came in 1716, potatoes by 1735. By the middle of the century farming and planting were a fashionable craze, and by the end of it Scotland was teaching her teachers and exporting gardeners all over Europe, and the Lothians were the best-farmed land in the world.

Much beauty in Southern Scotland has its birth then, such as that of the lovely Dawyck Woods. The Lowlands of 1715 were almost treeless, and the Highlands were threatened: after 1715 the York Building Company bought 6000 firs on Speyside for 2/4 each, and elsewhere they were sold at a plack apiece—4d Scots, rather under ½d sterling. By the mid-century there had been much planting, and many new trees were brought in, and throve, such as larch and sycamore. Fishing recovered more slowly than agriculture: so late as 1750 the Dutch had 150 vessels off the Scots coast, and the Scots themselves had two.

Manufactures also revived, though the heavy industries of iron and coal scarcely developed till after the mid-century. The trade recovery was helped by the fact that many gentry who for religion or politics could not take the oaths or enter the universities now went into trade, and brought new blood and a wider outlook. The seventeen-twenties show the founding of the Paisley thread-industry, by the heroine of the Bargarran witch-case, and of the Hollands linen, by Saltoun's sister-in-law. In 1728 the country produced three million yards of linen, multiplied almost fivefold by 1770. The wool trade, hard hit by the Union, revived once more, and the wool towns of the Borders lifted their heads.

The Union had at first been a blow to commerce, but new markets, though hampered by English jealousy, began to show overseas, and though the loss of the Parliament drained custom from the Edinburgh merchants (Edinburgh *c.* 1730 seems much less of a 'capital' than *c.* 1790) the increase of manufactures and employment gave the country more spending power. Glasgow became an entrepôt for the Virginia trade, that throve with the increasing use of tobacco. The town had needed revival: though in 1726 it sat among its orchards 'the most uniform and prettiest' town Burt had ever seen, its population had been shrinking badly: at the Union it had been only 12,500, with many empty houses. Even by 1735 it had only fifteen ships. By the mid-century it had grown to 19,000, with no unemployment. The Scotland of the 'Forty-five was still very poor, but she had ceased to be beggarly. The national life was hopeful and energetic: by the end of the century the population, 1,600,000, was nearly half as large again as at the beginning, and the revenue *had multiplied by fifty-one.*

Mentally also there is a revival. The awful spiritual tyranny of the mid-seventeenth century, the inertia that followed war and conquest, the deathly poverty, had strangled Scots culture. James VI and his bishops had striven to put in practice Knox's dream of a general system of parish schools: but the wars had undone their work, and their post-Restoration successors could get no money out of Lauderdale. In 1696 Archbishop Spottiswoode's Education Act of 1616 was re-enacted, to provide once more a school in every parish: but in 1735 twelve parishes in Ayrshire alone still had none, and in Fife in 1715 only one man in three and one woman in twelve could sign their names, while in

Galloway in 1720 ' few or none of the common people could read.' The universities on which the schools depended had gone to pieces : they had never really recovered from the wars, and the Revolution ' purges ' had weakened them further. Aberdeen and St Andrews were ruinous as to fabric, and from 1690 to 1715 there obtained a condition of such general stagnation that Carstares (who had become an excellent Principal of Edinburgh) formed a scheme of importing Dutch professors. The revival that was to make Scotland a centre of intellectual leadership begins in 1729, with the appointment of the Ulster Scot Hutcheson to the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow. He founded the Scottish School of philosophy, and incidentally broke with tradition by lecturing in English instead of Latin. His pupil and successor, Adam Smith, born at Kirkcaldy in 1723, founded the modern science of economics. David Hume, one of the major forces in eighteenth century thought, and therefore one of the fathers of modern Europe (a progeny he would have much disliked) was born at Edinburgh in 1711, and his first work was published there in 1739 : he is the forerunner of Kant and Cousin and Reid [1] and to some extent of Voltaire. The first of the Risorgimento was rather philosophic and scientific than literary, though Ruddiman of Aberdeen, born 1674, was a classicist of fame, and the first to write a Latin grammar in English.

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[1] Born at Strachan in 1710 and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, he did not receive his chair till after our period. He was to be one of the founders of modern psychology.

Colin Maclaurin, born 1698, reached the Chair of Mathematics at Marischal in 1717 (*sic*) and became F.R.S. next year. Hutton, the founder of modern geology, and Black, a great pioneer in chemistry, come later: the chief men here in science besides Maclaurin are in medicine. (The medical chair of Marischal College was founded in the dark days, in 1700.) Alexander Monro the elder (b. 1697) became Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh in 1720, and virtually founded one of the great medical schools of Europe. The brothers William (b. 1718) and John Hunter (b. 1728), the founders of the Glasgow and London Hunterian Museums, were his pupils, though most of their work was done in London, where by the mid-century William could drink the toast,

> May no English nobleman venture out of the world without a Scottish physician, as I am sure there are none who venture in without one,

and one of our major exports was well established.

The revival in intellect and material prosperity brought one also in the arts, though as the spiritual temperature did not rise equally it produced a great deal of lively minor work of admirable quality, but little great, though it set going the great Romantic Movement that refired the imagination of all Europe. Naturally, however, it comes later, and most of it is really beyond our time. The first arts to revive were music and architecture, which had been least neglected. Poverty caused most of the best work of Gibbs to be done in England—St Martin's-in-the-Fields, St Mary-le-Strand, and the tower of St Clement Danes, all in London, are his, and Chambers's Somerset House is also in London: but the architectural revival that began with Bruce soon after the Restoration is maintained, and was to culminate in the Adams and the noble planning of old New Edinburgh. In music there are few *names*, but music was in the air, and very lovely. Even the Cameronians had sung psalms, and to remarkably beautiful tunes: and even in the dreary Edinburgh of the early century there were many concerts, while the Highlands and the Episcopalian Lowlands were alive with a very rich tradition of song. At the beginning of the century, in 1706, James Watson, the King's printer, brought out a collection of old Scots poetry, courtly and popular: and towards the middle of the seventeen-twenties, Alan Ramsay, an Edinburgh barber and later bookseller (whose sign was the heads of Ben Jonson and William Drummond) followed him with a collection of old songs that set a passionate and enduring fashion. It became a custom to write similar things, not pastiche, but in a living and active tradition, shared by all classes from dukes to publicans, and by women of all classes as well as men. In the Highlands the lyric impulse, strong already, increased ; though after 1690 the rents of the suppressed Bishopric of the Isles were to be used for ' English schools for the rooting out of the Irish (*i.e.*, Gaelic) language and other pious uses,' the eighteenth century ranks as the Golden Age of Gaelic lyric, with the names of Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair (MacDonald), the son of an Episcopalian minister, Duncan Bàn Macintyre, Dugald Buchanan, and Rob Donn MacKay. The Gaelic Jacobite songs, by the way, are the real thing: the Lowland are mostly wistful recollection, a generation after the last rising.

In more formal literature, there was less life. When in 1725 Alan Ramsay opened a circulating library, the ministers considered that 'vice and obscenity were dreadfully propagated,' and he had little more luck at first with the theatre. The drama had been dead for long enough, and when English companies came to Edinburgh in 1715 and 1726, their hearers were repelled from the next Communion.[1] When in 1736 the daring Ramsay opened a Playhouse in Carrubber's Close, the ministers forced the magistrates to close it, and without compensation. It was not until 1764 that Edinburgh could show a licensed theatre . . . and one of its first and most successful plays was by a Moderate minister, John Home, although the poor man had to resign his charge.[2] In formal creative literature, however, Scotland by the mid-century produced two authors, who though both had to publish abroad and neither is in the first flight, rank among the great pioneers of European literary history. Tobias Smollett born at Dalquhurn in 1721, the son of a Commissioner for the Union, is one of the four great 'founders' of the novel in English. He barely comes into our time, for he did not publish till 1748, and though a great name in our letters he shows the beginnings of a fatal tendency, that of taking for granted that the *English* scene is so to speak the 'natural' setting for any creative fiction not definitely regionalist in subject. James Thomson the elder, born in 1700 at Ednam in Roxburghshire and publishing first in 1727, was even greater as a pioneer: Saintsbury, in fact (*qui s'y connaissait*) calls his work 'among the most important in the whole history of English poetry'—and might truthfully have said 'of European.' In the full tide of the Augustan classical tradition, he links hands across the storm of the Reformation with Gavin Douglas: his *Winter* takes up, and spreads through the whole of Europe the aesthetic interest in nature, and *wild* nature, for its own sake,[1] that was one of the major elements in the Romantic Revival, and the greatest Scots contribution to letters in general. He helped the movement too in another way, for looking back to the rich technical tradition of Scots courtly verse, he broke that of the by now monotonous and mechanical couplet, reviving Miltonic blank verse with its subtle rhythm, and the woven rhymes of the Spenserian stanza, and restored a lost richness to the metres of English.

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[1] The Episcopalians do not seem to have shared the objection: Mrs Cockburn, one of the few Scots dramatists of the time, was the wife of an Episcopalian minister in Aberdeen: she died in 1749.

[2] It may be mentioned here that the first Scots newspaper, save the unfortunate *Mercurius Caledonius* of 1660, edited by a son of Bishop Sydserf, was the *Edinburgh Courant* (Whig) of 1718, followed in 1720 by the Tory *Caledonian Mercury*.

This brief survey reads hopefully, and it should:

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[1] Even in 1753 Oliver Goldsmith could say of Highland scenery that 'Hills and rocks intercept every prospect.'

the revival of the eighteenth century is something worth recalling at the present, being little less brilliant and much nearer ourselves than the miracle of the fifteenth century one. But it must be remembered that the time passed less briefly. A man who was sixty in the year 1740 had seen a number of changes in national life: but the dawn came slowly, and before the sunrise there was still to be the last convulsion in arms of over two hundred years of religious struggle. The recovery of a nation sick in spirit is not a matter of a few months or years, or of a man here and there: but it has to begin, and it is with a man here and there that it begins. Such men now were already playing their part, and by the mid-century there were more than a few in every division of the nation's life.

CHAPTER XXI

THE LAST OF THE STEWARTS

THIRTY-NINE YEARS: 1719–48

As matters stand, I must either conquer or perish in a little while.
Charles Edward to his father, October 1745.

THE general survey in the preceding chapter has run in advance of political affairs. Those of the twenty years after Glenshiel may be told very briefly. During that time the main political power was held by that able cynic Robert Walpole, who joined the Ministry in 1720, and by his strong peace policy, and his grasp of financial and commercial affairs, including the application of finance to politicians, saw England through the economic crisis that followed the South Sea hysteria of that year. Under Walpole, the real ruler of Scotland, from 1725 to his death in 1743, was the Duke of Argyle, who had been restored to favour after Glenshiel.

The chief note of the time, as was said before, is the consolidation of the Hanoverian Government and of the Presbyterian Establishment. The latter has been described. The Government, unshaken if not undisturbed by Jacobite intrigue, had to deal with three violent crises of popular feeling that threatened the Union. The first was caused by the Peerage Bill of 1719—not aimed at Scotland, but an effort of the Whigs to protect themselves against the Heir-apparent, who as usual in this century and the next, was at odds with his father. It threatened, for the second time in twelve years, to infringe the Treaty of Union, this time by disfranchising the Scottish peers: but it failed to pass.

1722 brought an English Jacobite attempt which involved Mar, Bishop Atterbury of Rochester, a Sussex squire, a lively young English lawyer, and a group of Waltham smugglers. Apart from variety of personnel its most notable feature is the incident of the Bishop's six-foot chaplain holding the police with the point of his sword in a doorway while with the other hand he burnt his papers in a candle. Its chief consequence was the discrediting of Mar, who surprising as it sounds, had still retained the favour of his master: thereafter, he spent his time in fomenting dissension, and trying to make exiled Jacobites feel ill-used because James could do little to help their poverty. As for James himself, Hill Burton, who can say nothing good of a Stewart, says that he 'enjoyed a martyrdom sweetened by indolence and luxurious enjoyment.' The latter consisted in a weary, incessant, and conscientious attempt to keep pace, and peace, with his followers' bickering intrigues, to pay his creditors (he hated debt) and do what he could for his poorer followers. The martyrdom, in fact, was real enough: he may have enjoyed it, but it does not appear so, and his tastes would have been surprising if he did. His domestic life was far from happy either. Few Lennox Stewarts were fortunate in their women. James was tolerant, and as deeply devout as he was, thought none the worse of his Protestants for their faith: but his restless young wife, bored as only a Slav can be bored (nor was James, though kind, an exhilarating husband), was a bigot, and snubbed them. Even her babies' nurses (Henry Benedict was born in 1725) were involved in backstairs plots for domination: and when James wished his son to have tutors of both faiths, there was a quarrel that reverberated through the gossip of Europe, and was used to blacken both James and Clementina with charges of mutual infidelity, that in both cases were certainly untrue.

One need not go in detail into these unsavoury and futile *subterranea.* Much has been written of them elsewhere, and is easily accessible if desired. More to the point in a national history is the trouble of the middle seventeen-twenties, chiefly over the malt-tax. In 1724, General Wade had made an inspection of the Highlands, to study the working of the 1716 Disarming Act (which had not, naturally, worked at all) and had roused suspicion of further attacks in prospect upon the Highland dress and the Highland language. The Highlands were in a ruffled frame of mind, and immediately after, the rest of Scotland also became annoyed, by the malt-tax. As in the previous disturbance for the same cause, there was wrong on both sides. Malt was taxed in England: the Scots' successful resistance to such a tax was represented as a breach of the Treaty: that the English had quite frankly broken it, in the treason trials of 1716, was of course no matter.

After some discussion, the Commons decided against an actual Malt Tax, but put an extra 6d. to the barrel on Scots ale and beer, and withdrew the bounty for exported grain. The Scots declared that *this* was a breach of the Treaty: so Walpole compromised by a duty of 3d. a bushel on Scots malt (half the English rate) which of course sent up the price of tippenny, then as much the standard drink of the working class as tea is today. There was violent indignation. The Edinburgh brewers came out on strike, till the Court of Session drove them back with threats of a charge of conspiracy. In Whig Glasgow there was such a pitch of wrath that when two companies of soldiers were drafted into the town to keep the peace, the Provost dared not read the Riot Act: the troops fired on the mob without it, and there were some deaths. Duncan Forbes of Culloden, the Lord Advocate, was a strong enough man to risk his career by taking irregular action when it was needed, and just managed to stop a very ugly outbreak. The Glasgow authorities denounced him for it, but Walpole backed him. The town was fined £6000, and the tax remained. So of course did a sense of grievance: to cause an increase in the price of the working man's beer has never made a government beloved. The Union had raised the taxes too on wines and imported spirits: and no age in history has been more alcoholic. The smuggler became a popular public servant, and few ministers, even, thought they preached the worse for an anker under the lee of the manse peat-stack.

1727 strengthened the hands of the Whigs, by providing them with a somewhat more likeable sovereign, who could at any rate speak the English language, if with the German accent that marked his house until George V turned his back on Germany and rechristened his family the House of Windsor. George I died, and the throne passed to his son George II, a hot-tempered, thick-skulled junker of forty-four, with sense enough to appreciate brains in others, and in spite of his quite frank infidelities, a strong respect for his able and fiery wife, Caroline of Anspach. Queen Caroline, too, gave the Court more social meaning than the ghost of the imprisoned Queen Sophia: and her sons, the kindly and likeable Frederick, then twenty, and the pretty little Duke of Cumberland, who was to earn an unpretty epithet, afforded a better focus for personal feeling than the sad James and the flighty *dévote* Clementina, who had the further handicap of their faith, while their sons, though a pair of very charming children, were a bairn of six and a baby of barely two.

The tension of the Malt-tax riots passed. There were peaceful years of growing prosperity, shared by the 'free-traders.' All classes joined in a happy hatred of the gauger: and the Inland Revenue authorities were precisely as pleased as might have been expected. Then suddenly, in 1736, this generally agreeable state of affairs produced an 'incident' of a temperature that nearly melted the seals on the Treaty of Union, and if Argyle had not stood up to the Queen, might have started something not far short of a war. Two smugglers, Wilson and Robertson, were arrested, and sentenced to hang. They very nearly escaped, but Wilson's great bulk destroyed the chances of both. With plucky generosity he remedied the disaster for his companion: they heard sermon, before execution, in the Tron Kirk, and Wilson, flinging himself upon the guards, gave Robertson a chance to get away, not unaided by the pious congregation. Wilson became a hero: to hang him would make him a martyr and invite a riot. Hanged he was, however, and the scaffold was guarded not only by 'that black banditti, the City Guard,' but by three companies of foot. Wilson was peaceably hanged, but a few stones flew, and Captain Porteous of the City Guard, an ex-ranker, not used, perhaps, to responsibility, lost his head and ordered the soldiers to fire on the mob. Half a dozen were killed and a score or so badly wounded, several being women. Porteous was tried as result: the evidence is violently conflicting, but the main weight of it suggests he was guilty, and the main weight of opinion, including the jury's, was very vigorously to that effect. He was sentenced to hang, on the 8th September. Queen Caroline (the King was in Hanover) reprieved him: and at two in the morning of the 8th September he was lynched, politely but effectively, by a mob

which rose suddenly by beat of drum in the Grassmarket, did what it had come to do and nothing else, and vanished into the night as suddenly as it had come. The rioters brought water-buckets to extinguish the fire after they had burnt down the Tolbooth door and a guinea to pay for a halter in the West Bow; they disarmed the Town Guard, held the gates and

> commanded the city under the very guns of the Castle ; and in the morning a pile of extinguished torches and a dead man hanging from a dyer's pole were all the evidence to show that what people . . . had seen was not a hallucination of the night. And all Queen Caroline's lawyers and all the spies in Scotland could not bring home the guilt to a single man.[1]

Suspicion raged in Westminster. Even the Cameronians were accused : they had recently been renewing the Covenant, and the High-flyers in the Church were in fact expressing approval of the affair. Argyle's brother Islay wrote to Walpole that they had made it

> a point of conscience. . . . All the lower rank of the people who have distinguished themselves by pretences to a superior sanctity speak of this murder as the hand of God doing justice.

The civil authorities were not so pleased. The House of Lords desired to depose and imprison the Lord Provost, abolish the Netherbow Port, and disband the Town Guard. Three Scots judges were summoned to London, and instead of sitting with their English brethren, were forced to stand before the bar of the House. It may not be true that the Queen declared to Argyle that she would make Scotland into a hunting ground, and that the Duke, who could head 4000 swords, said, ' In that case, ma'am, I go north to prepare my hounds ' : but his cool head and strong personality did much to save an ugly situation, for the English members had gone into hysterics, and the threat against Edinburgh, which contravened a clause of the Treaty of Union, had thoroughly roused the powerful royal burghs. Argyle kept the Government from precipitate action. The penalties were reduced to the Provost's deposition and £2000 of compensation for Mrs Porteous.

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[1] From that enchanting little masterpiece, James Bone's *Perambulator in Edinburgh*. The classic description, of course, is that in *The Heart of Midlothian*.

By 1740 the Government seemed secure. In England what remained of Jacobite feeling was a picturesque tradition, enough to get drunk on, but no more effective. In the Lowlands, even the Episcopalian Lowlands north of Tay, it was in general not much more by now. The men who had been out in the 'Fifteen were old or dead or cautiously middle-aged, the sad Blackbird had no song to charm the young ones. The Union had ceased to be an active annoyance, unless—as had recently happened, to be sure—some Government failure of tact should rouse ill-feeling. In the Highlands, however, it was different. The House of Hanover were unfriendly aliens, to whom Gaeldom meant nothing but at best a nuisance: the Stewarts had been chiefs, with what chiefship meant. The Government showed so much knowledge of them at least as to realise where possible danger lay. Wade's 1724 discoveries as to the unobserved Disarming Act caused a new one in May 1725, not much more successful. Wade planned for a military interpenetration of the Highlands, by a system of strategic roads, and between 1726 and 1737 made 260 miles of them—Inverness to Fortwilliam by Kilcumin (Fort Augustus) and Inverness to Dunkeld, with branches through Dalnacardoch and Crieff, and again by Dalwhinnie and over Corryarrick to Fort Augustus: and as they were made he set to march them and police the North-west a force at once more effective and less exasperating than Lowland regulars, six companies of Highlanders from the Whig clans, *Am Freiceadan Dubh*[1] the Black Watch, who later, on the suggestion of Forbes of Culloden, were to join the line as the Fighting Forty-twa.

Just at the end of the seventeen-thirties, however, the situation of the Jacobite party took a new turn. Two important things had happened. The Government had gone to war again, and the party had the promise of a leader who could lift and not lower the spirit of those he led. In 1739 commercial friction between Spain and England forced Walpole from his policy of peace. The war, mainly naval, ran an uncertain course about the Atlantic: and a year from its beginning the Emperor died, and his death brought Great Britain into new war in Europe. He had left his domains to his daughter Maria Theresa: by the Treaty of Vienna Great Britain and Holland both were thirled to support her. The Treaty brought them now into war with France: the Elector of Bavaria claimed Hungary from her, and Louis XV backed him, while Frederick of Prussia gripped Silesia. In 1742 a British army landed in the Netherlands, to hold their frontier. Neither

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[1] So called from their tartan, to distinguish them from the *Saighdearan Dearg*, the Red Soldiers. The tartan was specially designed for them, as they were drawn from different clans, and their C.O., the Earl of Crawford, was a Lowlander.

Walpole nor Cardinal Fleury, the real ruler of France, desired a war: but they were unable to stop it. Walpole fell in the early spring of 1742, and the Cardinal died a year later.

The Jacobites had seen the disturbance coming, and tried to use it to win French help again. As early as the beginning of 1738, Gordon of Glenbuchat, a veteran of the 'Fifteen, sought James at Rome, and bade him hope once more. He came back to Scotland with a general's commission, and Sempill, a Franco-Scot, the self-appointed 'minister for the King's friends in England,' and an optimist, reported matters promising in that country. Late in 1738 he came to England to co-ordinate action between the English Jacobites and the Scots: the latter had formed themselves into a 'Concert,' whose leaders were a rather curious trio, Lord James Drummond, who was titular Duke of Perth, a stiff and rather chilly honest man, 'the Gentle Lochiel,' the best type of Highland chief, and that ancient Belial, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. The actual outbreak of the Spanish war set them to new hopes of France, and early in 1741 they offered to raise 20,000 men if France could arm them. The British landing in the Netherlands pointed their offer, but Fleury was trying to keep peace with George II, and refused. He died, however, and the situation flared into actual war. In June 1743 a German-British army, under King George, his younger son, and Lord Stair, marched into Bavaria against the Elector, and beat a French one at Dettingen. Louis then tried to use the Jacobites, to produce a diversion by counter-invasion of England.

By this time they had a more attractive leader than since Claverhouse had gone down to the silver bullet. Charles Edward was now twenty-two, with the quick fighting blood of the Sobieskis to rouse the old Stewart fire. James had been far more D'Este-Bourbon than Stewart : Charles was a tall vivid creature, full of life, had the charm and the presence of the older race, and their call to the heart : he lacked their brains, and those that he possessed (he was not a fool) had been developed, or left undeveloped, in a childhood of trifling palace politics, of bickering between petty domestic factions, with a sad father and hysterical mother. His force—and he had force—lay not in the grasp of ideas, but in understanding of the Highland temper (a knowledge not of the head but of the heart, but in its own fashion going as deep as Montrose's) and linked with it a courage happy and swift in the face of odds, taking hardship and personal danger with laughing grace, but without the power (men who sneer at his later years might not all have the power) to hold to his integrity of spirit in the squalid and drifting misery that followed, for unlike his father and his younger brother he had not the deep personal religion that would have kept his dignity of soul in the life of a prince penniless and dethroned, among nerve-strained and often querulous exiles. He still had hope, though, and he gave hope also : here was a young man who could rouse cold hearts instead of chilling warm ones. Word of the

Young Chevalier was borne to Scotland—a Prince over the Water who would make a King indeed.

There seemed a chance that he might yet be crowned. Louis's counter-blow after Dettingen was put in hand by the spring of 1744. Marshal Saxe, who was one of the finest soldiers in Europe, was lying at Dunkirk with 10,000 troops. Charles rode to Paris, hoping to take them across. And early in March came the Stewart luck with the weather: the Powers of the Air never loved them, and struck now, with a couple of violent storms within a week, and no transports were left to carry Saxe's men. France gave up the attempt, and swung towards agreement with George. Louis would not expel the young Prince on George's demand, but he would not receive him officially at Versailles.

Charles was in Paris, with neither men nor money. He refused, however, to surrender hope. He would 'go single' rather than not at all. Like Montrose he would trust the Highlands. Now was the time, with the Whig government engaged to southward. His elder, more cautious followers would not agree, but he stuck to his guns through over a year of torturing inaction, of prudent lectures, of 'being plagued out of his life' by conflicting rumours. He told Murray of Broughton, who was to be the traitor, that he would go if he went with a single man.

At last Broughton went to Scotland and reported. The Highlands were eager, the Lowlands refused to move. He sent back to Charles a counsel of delay, and it never arrived. King George's war had continued:

in May 1745, at Fontenoy, the French with the Irish Brigade beat the Dutch and British under Cumberland. The defeat was not without glory for the vanquished, most of all for the Black Watch in the rear-guard action: but defeat, and very serious, it was, for it gave most of Flanders to the French. Charles seized his chance. With seven men, the Seven Men of Moidart,[1] he sailed from Nantes on the 2nd of July, with two ships, the *Du Teillay* and *Élisabeth*. The latter was brought to action by a ship of King George's, and had to put back. The *Du Teillay* went on her voyage, and on the 23rd reached Eriskay, a little island in the Sound of Barra. Boisdale, Clanranald's brother, bade Charles go home: and the Prince's answer was 'I am come home.'

Two days after that he landed on the Mainland, at Loch nan Uamh, between Arisaig and Moidart, Clanranald's country. The chiefs were startled: the clans stirred to the challenge. Tell a Highlander odds are two to one against him, and he may back out: but say instead of that, 'It's six to one against us: I'm going on,' and the leader goes fast that will keep ahead of Donald. The odds, in fact, were too long, within and without: artillery counted, and Charles was no Montrose. Nor, though wise and honest men joined the futile intriguers, could the thing have succeeded for lack of unity, while the Lowlands were thirled by the promise of prosperity to peace. War might mean 1700 again—perhaps with the fifteen-forties thrown in as well. Charles in 1715 would have won back the throne, but even then perhaps, though only perhaps, at the cost of an English war. It was too late now. Yet the venture nearly succeeded after all, and ended with imperishable honour, not for any leader but for the common men . . . and for some women, for £30,000 is a decent dowry, and being forced to stand for three days and nights on end, and seeing a young son flogged till he died thereafter, as happened to Anne MacKay at Inverness, is not what all would choose when escape was easy.

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[1] Three were Scots, three Irish, one an Englishman: and their racial jealousies were the germ of disaster.

Lochiel came out, with sad valour: he saw far. Clanranald came also, Stewart of Ardshiel, Glengarry, Keppoch: half Charles's force were MacDonalds when on the 19th August in Glenfinnan the flag of the Stewarts rose again in Scotland. By the end of the month, he had 2000 men: many more would have come if the chiefs would have brought them out. The man who defeated Charles in the long run was not Cumberland but Duncan Forbes of Culloden, whose counsel (for they respected his wisdom and his character) had held back the chiefs.[1] None the less, the situation had its points. Most of the British Army were unsuccessfully engaged in the defence of Hanover, an enterprise that did not endear King George. There were only 3000 regular troops in Scotland: and Cope, their commander, was better fit for manoeuvres than to face untidy waves of cold Highland steel.

A reward of £30,000 was offered for Charles's person, and Cope, the day after the Standard was raised at Glenfinnan, marched from Stirling to hold Fort Augustus on Wade's road, expecting Charles to march on Inverness. But Charles struck south, on Perth first, where King James was for the second time proclaimed, and many more men came in from the Southern clans. A week at Perth gave time to organise: then with the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, an efficient professional soldier, in command, they struck boldly for Edinburgh. On 11th September they moved to cross the Forth. Guns could have blocked them, of course, at Stirling Bridge, for the strong castle is right over it, so they crossed higher up by the Fords of Frew, and the Whig dragoons drew back and let them pass, so that by the 16th they were before the city.

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[1] Culloden's career is excellently described in a recent work by Mr George Menary.

The outflanked Cope had embarked at Aberdeen, and was sailing south to defend the capital. The Town Council tried to hold Charles by lengthy parleys, but a party of Camerons slipped through the Netherbow Port at the back of the very coach that carried their envoys, and the next day, the 18th of September, Charles rode into the town: the capital of his fathers was his again within a month from the raising of the standard, and not a man had been lost in taking it.

James VIII was proclaimed. Cope landed at Dunbar and marched on Edinburgh. On the morning of the 21st September he met the Highlanders at Prestonpans, and waited there for a quarter of an hour before he himself, at the head of what had been his force, fell back (to put it politely) upon Berwick. The victory seemed

Tippermuir, not Killiecrankie. 1200 of the Whigs were killed and wounded, 1800 prisoners, all the baggage taken. Charles was safe, but saddened, for these flying red-coats were also native subjects of his father. He would allow no demonstrations of triumph, and saw most carefully to the enemy's wounded. Nor, in the weeks he occupied Edinburgh, with round shot dropping now and then from the Castle, was any violence done to the town's-people. When civilised war reached the Highlands six months later, they had to learn how backward were their standards. Indeed, they were to receive a lesson sooner. Charles paroled the captured English officers. Cumberland ordered them to break their parole. A few did not.

Through October a court danced again in Holyrood —the court of a phantom King on his knees in Rome, but James II's ghost may have stirred in the Abbey choir, for he too had been young and the comrade of his soldiers. There was a glint of sun on the white cockade. More Highlanders came in, but few Lowlanders, and it was for them Charles waited. He raised of these only a couple of score of horse, for the South Lowlands were now almost all Presbyterian. And 6000 Dutch were landing to hold a panic-stricken London (where the Highlanders, like Prince Rupert, were firmly believed to be cannibals) and Cumberland bringing troops from the Low Countries.[1] Yet as counter it seemed that France was stirring too. D'Éguilles came from Louis: there was even a treaty, and some arms and money arrived.

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[1] We hear much of the iniquity of the Stewart plans to bring in French troops, less of the fact that William and the Georges used Dutch and German.

Now came division. Charles was for marching on England, to make capital out of King George's unpopular war. His commanders objected. An England in earnest would surely rise without them: if the French should land, it was better strategy to hold the Whigs in the North. But Charles insisted. It is difficult to be sure that he was wrong: he might well have proved right had he gone a little sooner. A bold thrust might have brought off such a coup d'état as had been quietly accepted by the country half a dozen times in the last hundred years. Had Charles been of any other religion or none (which last, as a matter of fact, was nearly the case) it was odds on success by then. General Wade, no fool, thought it a case of 'England for the first comer.'

But Charles came late. On Hallowe'en the ghost-court danced its last. Next morning they marched out on the road to Carlisle—5000 foot, 500 horse, and 13 guns. A fortnight later, Carlisle was in their hands. For another fortnight, the army moved steadily south on the winter roads. They had been in the field for fifteen weeks now, were 350 miles south of their starting-point, as the crow flies, had fought for a quarter-hour (not counting the very brief skirmish at High Bridge) and lost hardly a man. Then, on the 5th December, they turned back.

As they marched south, Wade was lying at Newcastle, held there by the impassable state of the roads. Another force lay at Lichfield. Charles struck between them, crossing the Ribble at Preston, the little town where his father's and his great-grandfather's forces had both been defeated : he marched on Manchester. At both he was greeted with enthusiasm, but the only English recruits, who came in at the latter town, were a couple of hundred. He reached Manchester on the 29th November, and the Council were already discussing retreat. Their conclusion was that England would cheer and do nothing : and Wade was marching, Cumberland lay at Lichfield, and troops were training upon Finchley Common, to block the London road. The more audacious men pressed for some days more, lest the French should say they had not been supported. The Jacobites therefore went on as far as Derby, and there the Council refused to go any further. Charles raged and pled, unavailing. He was twenty-four, with no experience of soldiering, save, on a string, as a schoolboy of thirteen; and several of them were experienced soldiers. He had to turn, and the good luck turned also.

The government troops, who had all this while remembered Johnnie Cope, took heart, and followed, coming up with the rearguard at Penrith, and being beaten off. On the 18th the Highlanders were on Scots soil again, and by New Year in Glasgow. The English Jacobites had been left to garrison Carlisle, and surrendered to Cumberland : that ended the English side of the affair. In Scotland, however, Charles was better off materially than he had been. Forbes of Culloden had succeeded in holding back the chiefs of the North (the Far North clans were Whig, and always had been) but the Gordons were holding Aberdeen for the Prince, and the Frasers came out, and many MacKenzies: their young chief, whose English mother was a Whig, would not lead them, and they came under the Earl of Cromartie. Perth's brother too had come with guns and 700 Scots and Irish, professional soldiers in the service of France. Charles had 8000 men and 19 guns now, and still it might be the French would land in England: the threat of it was holding Cumberland back.

Indeed, there was a flicker of success. Charles marched on Stirling, the gate between South and North, and took the town. The Castle held, however. General Hawley, who had superseded Cope, moved to relieve it, and got as far as Falkirk. On the 17th January Charles fell upon him, in the last of the seven pitched battles about Stirling with a success that, though it took harder fighting, was nearly as complete as at Prestonpans.

Cumberland pulled Hawley's fugitives together. Charles's Council would not stay to make sure of Stirling, but stood out instead for wintering in the Highlands. It was sound advice: they were safe there and could recruit. But for Prince Charles and for the Army alike, the situation seemed too like another Derby, and amounted to psychological defeat.

They moved, without resistance, on Inverness, and took it on the 20th February. The 'French' took

Fort Augustus early in March, and Spanish arms were landing at Peterhead. So far, save for the surrender of Carlisle, all the actual fighting had been in the Jacobites' favour. In the Highlands, no Government post was left but Fortwilliam, which the Jacobites attempted and failed to take. But time was wearing at the Army: they had neither pay nor food,[1] and the weather was savage, while the climate on the Council had been worsened by bickers between the Scots and the Prince's Irish, and Charles, for some time, was seriously ill. Time and the weather fought for Cumberland. He sat still at Aberdeen, drilling his men, very sensibly, with the bayonet, packing the china and furniture of his hostess, and leaving the weather and quarrels to do their work all through March and a week of cold and stormy April. Then on the 8th he marched for Inverness.

Charles's force had been weakened by the despatch of Cromartie with 1500 men to recapture the Spanish gold: Cromartie was taken, and his force, returning, arrived too late to be of use in the battle. On the 16th April, a day of bitter sleet, the Highlanders, famished and weary from a night march intended, unsuccessfully, as a surprise, met Cumberland at Drummossie Muir near Culloden. The ground, as Lord George protested, was ill-chosen, giving scope for Cumberland's guns and cavalry: but it was needful to cover Inverness, where all the supplies of the army were concentrated. The clans charged with a desperate valour, and were mown down: it is not true that Clan Donald refused to charge, on a point of pride or for any other reason. They fought as bravely, and vainly, as the rest. Charles was forced off the field. A number of fugitives rallied at Ruthven Barracks, but he bade them disperse and save their lives as they might. The venture was over.

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[1] A sloop with £1,200 in Spanish gold was forced to run aground at Tongue in Sutherland, and the gold was seized by the MacKays.

Its results were not, though. The Government had been frightened, and their soldiers had cut no ornamental figure. Cumberland now gave orders for no quarter, alleging that Charles had done so. There is no evidence that this last was true: Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, Jacobite colonels, and men of high character and sincere religion, denied it publicly with their last breath, as did other officers who must have known: and Charles had been most humane to enemy wounded, whom he refused to consider enemies. The evidence for what happened after Culloden is that of eye-witnesses, voluminous, and not all Jacobite. In his dying speech a Manchester man who had followed the Prince to Culloden declares (and he is borne out by many others) that he

> was put into one of the Scotch kirks together with a large number of wounded prisoners who were stripped naked and then left to die of their wounds without the least assistance, and tho' we had a surgeon of our own, a prisoner in the same place, yet he was not permitted to dress our wounds, but his instruments taken from him on purpose to prevent it.

The wounded on the field were shot in cold blood as they lay, and some deliberately burnt to death where they had taken refuge. Lady Inches, the mother of one of *Cumberland's* officers, whose house was near the field, has told herself how because she had buried some Jacobites killed in her grounds she was dragged out of doors by the English soldiers, and forced to look at the rotting corpses of men who had been burnt or hacked to death. Those prisoners not killed were thrust naked into Inverness gaol, lacking food or water : the plucky servant-girls of the town ran the gauntlet of the sentries to bring them the latter. In the prison-ships they were herded on the earth ballast, not allowed to go on deck for any reason, with no room to lie, on half a pound of meal a day. When the Provost of Inverness, a Whig, begged Hawley to ' mingle mercy with judgment,' he was, quite literally, kicked downstairs.

Then Cumberland and Hawley dealt with the Highlands. The Prince was a fugitive until September, with £30,000 reward for his capture. No one betrayed him, nor any of the chiefs. One man who refused to read a cipher letter had 500 lashes, *twice,* to force him to do so. A beggar-woman who refused to betray Lochiel was shot, after other treatment. Others suffered less : but a beating with army belts can scarcely be an agreeable experience. The discipline was applied without social distinctions, or indeed many others : men, women, and children were stripped and driven out, men rounded up and shot, including some who had taken no part in the rising. Yet Charles remained safe : it was exasperating. To teach these savages respect for civilised war the country was swept bare : houses were burnt, the cattle killed or driven, the very shell-fish ploughed under on the shore. The Gaelic scholar and poet, Alasdair MacMhaighstir Alasdair, tells how when his wife was turned out of her house with her bairns, the cat was shot lest it might serve as food. Such an outline will serve : one need not give further details, though there are plenty. Cumberland earned himself a number of names. To his men in their letters home he was ‘ dear Bill,’ to the English ladies ‘ Sweet William ’ : they wore that flower in compliment to him, as counter to the Jacobite White Rose. The Highlands have kept another word for him. It is fair to add that some of his officers, among them Wolfe, later the hero of Quebec, risked their careers, and commissions, by protesting. Others enjoyed the sport, or shed tears at their work, but obeyed orders.

In September Charles got away at last to France, with the courageous help of Flora MacDonald, and of some scores of less picturesque but not less gallant figures. He landed in Brittany, whence seven hundred years earlier the first known man of his race came to seek his fortune, that led his house to three crowns and tragedy. For all that he had brought upon the Highlands, he was better loved then than in the days of success. Men’s voices soften yet in the Isles at his name. Some of his followers went with him to exile. Some were less, or more, lucky. The Treaty of Union was broken as before, and the prisoners tried at York, Carlisle, and London.

The real reprisals had been left to Cumberland behind the scenes. On the front stage, with the eyes of

Europe upon them, the Government displayed great moderation. Only 73 of those captured were put to death in form: they included three peers, the upright and generous Kilmarnock and Balmerino, and the scoundrel Lovat. The estates of forty attainted were confiscated. The *official* reprisals in the Highlands took the form of certain Acts of 1746, 1747, and 1748. Their legal structure was demolished by the abolition of all heritable jurisdiction, which reverted to the Crown, and of tenure by ward (*i.e.*, by military service), which was commuted for a feu-duty: and the clans were disarmed. The third enactment was inevitable. The other two have been counted as reforms. But as Mr Evan Barron, no sympathiser with Jacobitism, has pointed out,

> before the '45 the Highlands were working out their own salvation, slowly, it may be, but surely and along natural lines, and one of the worst, as it was one of the most lasting consequences of the rising was that it put a full and sudden stop to the natural process of development, without putting anything in its place.

When the chiefs, or their descendants, returned again, the old profound relation had been broken. The chief was no longer the head of a people, responsible to them, but the head of an estate, responsible, if he had any sense of responsibility, to that: from that sprang what a contemporary pamphlet calls 'the Improvements on the Marquis of Stafford's Estates' and other such matters—that is, the Clearances; and from the Clearances a chain of ills for all Scotland of which we are only now becoming conscious. Also, along with these definite enactments, a drive was made at all the characteristics of Highland life. The Highlanders' religion was already doubtfully legal or quite illegal, their language frowned on, while education in a foreign tongue was already pushing forward its marches among them: now, to remind them daily of all these others, their distinctive dress was made illegal also. From 1746 to 1782 no Highlander, gentle or simple, except in the Army, might wear the kilt or the tartan of his fathers, on pain of transportation.

The Highlands in general thus provided for, the overt means of vengeance were called off. An amnesty was passed in 1747 for all but the MacGregors, certain named exceptions, and those men in the service of 'the Pretender,' France, or Spain. The only other Jacobite execution was that of one of the finest of Charles's supporters, Dr Archibald Cameron, brother of Lochiel, hanged and quartered in 1753, under his old attainder, without trial, for implication in the futile Elibank Plot.

There was a further and far-reaching vengeance, the final battle of the religious wars. The Episcopal Church as such took no part in the rising, but except for the Catholics nearly every man concerned was an Episcopalian: as in the 'Fifteen, the Prayer-book had been used in their Church Parades. (English onlookers had been greatly impressed by the devoutness of the army.) Some of the Gaelic Jacobite songs make it clear that many felt that they were fighting for their faith as well as for their king. Cumberland had recognised the fact by sacking and burning any Episcopal chapels that happened to lie near his line of march. Now it was resolved to end the Church once for all, and the means to it were very skilfully chosen. In 1746 the Act of 1719 was revived and tightened. All non-juring ministers who officiated were to be imprisoned for six months for the first offence, transported to the Plantations for life for the second, and their meeting-houses were closed, a meeting-house being any gathering of five persons. All who should attend such services were fined five pounds for the first offence, and to have two years' imprisonment for the second: they might not vote in elections, or hold any office.

This was severe, but there was a case for it. The weight fell on those who refused the oath to the government, whose position was parallel with that of the Cameronians in the past, save that they did not preach a campaign of murder, and were content to renounce King George in this world without troubling themselves about him in the next. But a further provision then was shortly added, striking not on political grounds but on purely religious, and designed to make it impossible to man the Church, which of course had no such Continental resources as had the Catholics at the worst of times. It covered now not only the non-jurors, but those willing to accept, or who had remained constant to, the Government. After 1st September no letters of orders of an Episcopal minister, whatever his principles, should be recognised, unless his orders should be English or Irish; nor might those who were already in orders officiate to more than four people.

For two years they quietly obeyed the law : in Peterhead, for instance, the minister read the service sixteen times on Sunday, taking sixteen hours, to congregations of the legal size : or the flock gathered under open windows, or in neighbouring rooms, or conventicled in the open. The Presbyterians were not satisfied. In May 1748 the Act was amended. Now *no* Scottish orders, of whatever their date and whatever their bearer's politics might be, might qualify a man to officiate at all. Bishop Secker of Oxford underlined the point by protesting in Parliament that even if a Scottish ordinand were willing to be ordained by an English bishop, and if it were possible for him to make a long and costly journey, the English ecclesiastical regulations made it almost impossible for the Bishop to ordain him. The Act passed, however, and also made it impossible for such clergy as should secure legal ordination to take services anywhere but in their own houses. Still holding to the doctrine of non-resistance, they obeyed as they might and suffered as they must. There still is a tradition in Stonehaven of the fishwives holding their bairns outside the jail window, to receive their christening through the iron bars.

It was not till 1792 that these laws were lifted. The scholarly poet Dean Skinner, who died in 1808, had been imprisoned : so had Dean Sangster, who died in 1826. Bishop Torry of St Andrews, who died so late as 1852, could tell how as a young priest he had celebrated with a farm kitchen table for his altar. The result was the quiet starvation of the Church. When the laws were (mostly) repealed in 1792 she was, as Scott said, 'the shadow of a shade:' the fourteen bishops and 600 clergy of the beginning of the century were reduced to four bishops and some forty priests.

The religious wars had reached an end at last. After two centuries of constant struggle, the Presbyterian Church had control of Scotland. She showed a fitting gratitude to her saviours. Addressing King George a month after Culloden, the General Assembly speak with warmth of

> the conduct and valour of your heroic son, William, Duke of Cumberland, our second deliverer and restorer of those blessings procured to us by another glorious prince of that name at the late happy Revolution.

They also addressed the Duke himself directly:

> The Church of Scotland is under peculiar obligations to offer their most thankful acknowledgment to Almighty God, who has raised you up to be our brave defender . . . [and] guardian of all our sacred and civil interests . . . since this part of Great Britain has been blessed with your presence . . . . [they pray that the Lord of Hosts may] still guard your precious life . . . and that your illustrious name, so dear to us, may be transmitted still with greater glory to latest posterity . . . [and] share the happiness and glory bestowed by Divine mercy on those who have been eminent exemples of virtue and the happy instruments of communicating public blessings to mankind.

One would like to know where in the Highlands he received it. He was very busy there just at that time.

James Stewart died in 1766. His elder son trailed wearily through Europe, tied in his last years to a shrill *poseuse* of an unfaithful wife: he did not die till 1788. The gentle devout Henry Benedict abandoned his house's vain hopes after the Rising, and took orders in 1747, to live on in a new world, 'King by blood but not by the will of man,' till 1807, and leave the jewels of his family to George II's grandson, whose son was to reply by building him a stately marble tomb.

Hanoverian Scotland settled down in peace, to pass through an age of increasing prosperity, for the Lowlands at least, and so to a revival of national culture that made her one of the brain-centres of Europe. And then after two generations, something went wrong. The prosperity continued and increased: the culture grew etiolated and died again: and then the prosperity went under also, and the Scottish nation grew sick almost to death. Perhaps, though they failed so often in the means, there was something in the purpose of the Old Stewarts, in the desire of 'the Jameses' for a free nation, at peace within herself and with her neighbours, drawing life from all Europe and giving it again. Their vision was always that of such a Scotland, where trade and agriculture alike should thrive, not as ends but as honoured means to a national life that should flower beyond them in learning and in art, and in a religion using the whole of man, and fulfilling him in 'life more abundantly.' Can we say that is yet an impossible ideal for men and women with courage enough to will it, 'so long as but a hundred of us stand'?

APPENDIX

THE SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT

for Reformation and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happiness of the King, and the Peace and Safety of the Three Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland; agreed upon by Commissioners from the Parliament and Assembly of Divines in England, with Commissioners of the Convention of Estates, and General Assembly in Scotland; approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and by both Houses of Parliament and Assembly of Divines in England, and taken and subscribed by them, Anno 1643*; and thereafter, by the same authority, taken and subscribed by all ranks in Scotland and England the same year; and ratified by the Parliament of Scotland, Anno* 1644.

WE, Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgesses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all sorts, in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by the providence of GOD, living under one King and being of one reformed religion, having before our eyes the glory of GOD, and the advancement of the kingdom of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, the honour and happiness of the King's Majesty and his posterity, and the true publick liberty, safety, and peace of the kingdoms, wherein every one's private condition is included: And calling to mind the treacherous and bloody plots, conspiracies, attempts, and practices of the enemies of GOD against the true religion and professors thereof in all places, especially in these three kingdoms, ever since the reformation of religion; and how much their rage, power, and presumption are of late, and at this time, increased and exercised, whereof the deplorable state of the church and kingdom of Ireland, the distressed estate of the church and kingdom of England, and the dangerous estate of the church and kingdom of Scotland, are present and public testimonies; we have now at last (after other means of supplication, remonstrance, protestation, and sufferings) for the preservation of ourselves and our religion from utter ruin and destruction, according to the commendable practice of these kingdoms in former times, and the example of God's people in other nations, after mature deliberation, resolved to and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most High God, do swear,

I. That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, against our common enemies ; the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches ; and shall endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechising ; that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II. That we shall, in like manner, without respect of persons endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, church-government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy,) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness, lest we partake in other men's sins, and thereby be in danger to receive of their plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his name one, in the three kingdoms.

III. We shall, with the same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our several vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, mutually to preserve the rights and privileges of the Parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms ; and to preserve and defend the King's Majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms ; that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his Majesty's just power and greatness.

IV. We shall also, in all faithfulness, endeavour the discovery of all such as have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the king from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any faction or parties among the people contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public trial, and receive condign punishment as the degree of their offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme judicatories of both kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

V. And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is, by the good providence of GOD, granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments; we shall each one of us, according to our place and interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to all posterity; and that justice may be done upon the wilful opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent article.

VI. We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this common cause of religion, liberty, and peace of the kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed union and conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable indifferency or neutrality in this cause which so much concerneth the glory of GOD, the good of the kingdom, and honour of the King; but shall, all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition, and promote the same, according to our power, against all lets and impediments whatsoever, and what we are not able ourselves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed: All which we shall do as in the sight of God.

And because these kingdoms are guilty of many sins and provocations against GOD and his Son JESUS CHRIST, as is too manifest by our present distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof: we profess and declare, before GOD and the world, our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own sins, and for the sins of these kingdoms: especially, that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable benefit of the gospel; that we have not laboured for the purity and power thereof; and that we have not endeavoured to receive CHRIST in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our lives; which are the causes of other sins and transgressions so much abounding amongst us: and our true and unfeigned purpose, desire, and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under our power and charge, both in publick and in private, in all duties we owe to GOD and man, to amend our lives, and each one to go before another in the example of a real reformation; that the Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indignation, and establish these churches and kingdoms in truth and peace. And this Covenant we make in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD the Searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same as we shall answer at that great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his HOLY SPIRIT for this end, and to bless our desires and proceedings with such success, as may be deliverance and safety to his people, and encouragement to other Christian churches, groaning under, or in danger of, the yoke of antichristian tyranny, to join in the same or like association and covenant, to the glory of GOD, the enlargement of the kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, and the peace and tranquillity of Christian kingdoms and commonwealths.

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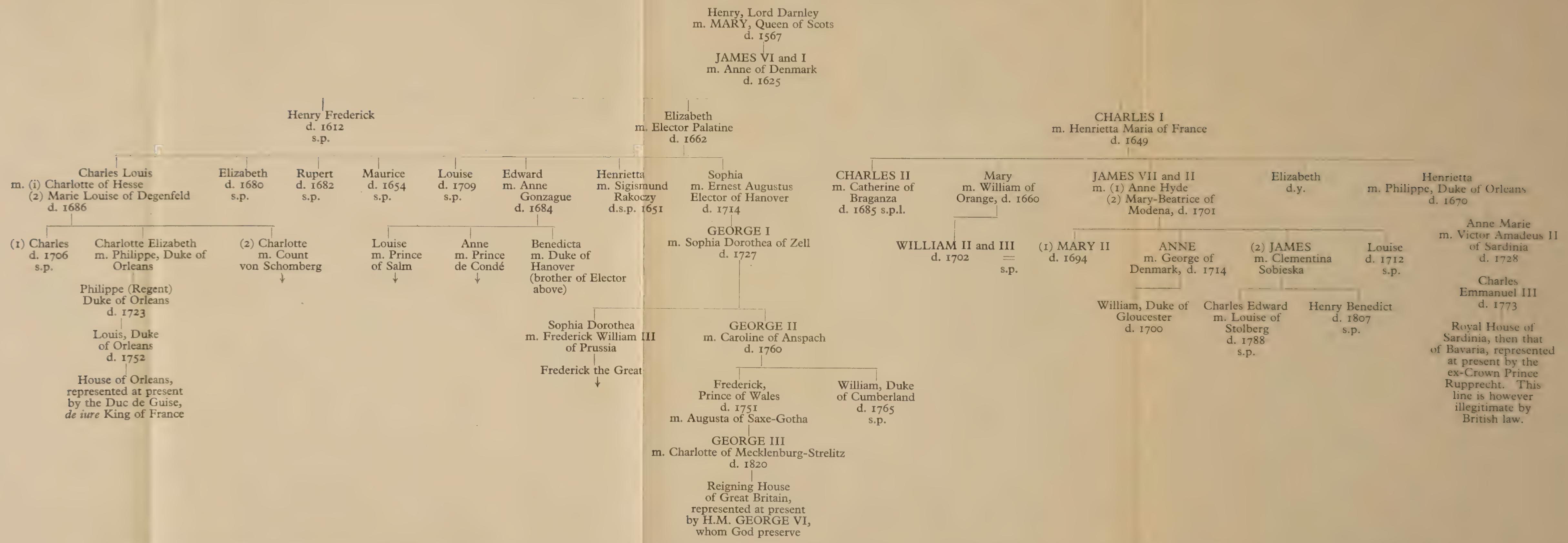
THE SECOND HOUSE OF STEWART (LENNOX STEWARTS)



Henry, Lord Darnley m. MARY, Queen of Scots d. 1567
JAMES VI and I m. Anne of Denmark d. 1625
Henry Frederick d. 1612 s.p.
Elizabeth m. Elector Palatine d. 1662
CHARLES I m. Henrietta Maria of France d. 1649
Charles Louis m. (i) Charlotte of Hesse (2) Marie Louise of Degenfeld d. 1686
Elizabeth d. 1680 s.p.
Rupert d. 1682 s.p.
Maurice d. 1654 s.p.
Louise d. 1709 s.p.
Edward m. Anne Gonzague d. 1684
Henrietta m. Sigismund Rakoczy d.s.p. 1651
Sophia m. Ernest Augustus Elector of Hanover d. 1714
CHARLES II m. Catherine of Braganza d. 1685 s.p.l.
Mary m. William of Orange, d. 1660
JAMES VII and II m. (1) Anne Hyde (2) Mary-Beatrice of Modena, d. 1701
Elizabeth d.y.
Henrietta m. Philippe, Duke of Orleans d. 1670
(1) Charles d. 1706 s.p.
Charlotte Elizabeth m. Philippe, Duke of Orleans
(2) Charlotte m. Count von Schomberg
Louise m. Prince of Salm
Anne m. Prince de Condé
Benedicta m. Duke of Hanover (brother of Elector above)
GEORGE I m. Sophia Dorothea of Zell d. 1727
WILLIAM II and III d. 1702
s.p.
(1) MARY II d. 1694
ANNE m. George of Denmark, d. 1714
(2) JAMES m. Clementina Sobieska
Louise d. 1712 s.p.
Anne Marie m. Victor Amadeus II of Sardinia d. 1728
Philippe (Regent) Duke of Orleans d. 1723
Louis, Duke of Orleans d. 1752
House of Orleans, represented at present by the Duc de Guise, *de iure* King of France
Sophia Dorothea m. Frederick William III of Prussia
Frederick the Great
GEORGE II m. Caroline of Anspach d. 1760
William, Duke of Gloucester d. 1700
Charles Edward m. Louise of Stolberg d. 1788 s.p.
Henry Benedict d. 1807 s.p.
Charles Emmanuel III d. 1773
Royal House of Sardinia, then that of Bavaria, represented at present by the ex-Crown Prince Rupprecht. This line is however illegitimate by British law.
Frederick, Prince of Wales d. 1751 m. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha
William, Duke of Cumberland d. 1765 s.p.
GEORGE III m. Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz d. 1820
Reigning House of Great Britain, represented at present by H.M. GEORGE VI, whom God preserve

For the previous descent of the Lennox Stewarts from Alexander, High Steward of Scotland (d. 1283) see Genealogy appended to *The Scotland of Queen Mary and the Religious Wars*. For Alexander's descent, see p. 11 of *The Rise of the Stewarts*. For the succession of the second or Lennox House of Stewart to the first House, see Genealogy appended to *The Rise of the Stewarts.*

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